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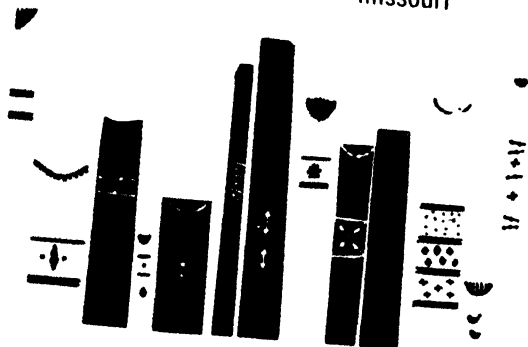
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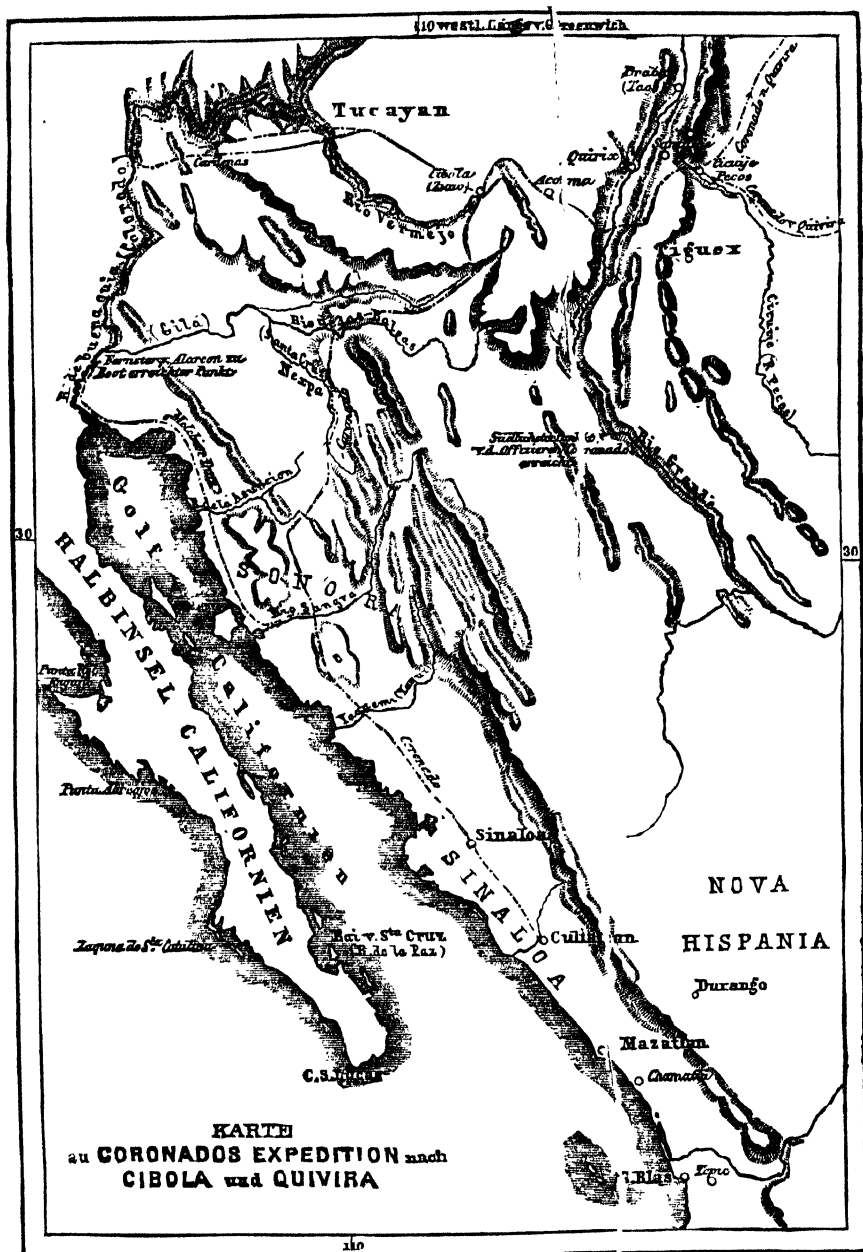
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CORONADO'S EXPEDITION.

The map given in Ruge's *Das Zeitalter der Entdeckungen*, p. 417. With slight corrections, this is as accurate as our present information permits. Melchior Diaz penetrated farther north, and crossed the Colorado. Tiguex should be placed west of the Rio Grande, between Acoma and Quirex. The Rio "Sangra" is probably a mistake for "Sonora."

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PREFACE.

IN calling the monograph which the following pages present "An Outline of the Documentary History of the Zuñi Tribe," I base this title upon the following considerations:—

The material is exclusively derived from Spanish documents, written and printed, which relate to the Zuñi Indians. But this material is incomplete. The Archives of New Mexico have been thoroughly searched for the purpose, and I may say that use has been made of everything of any importance which they contain. The Archives of Mexico have also yielded much material, but the time allotted for study at Mexico was too short for exhaustive investigation. Hence, only a part of what may exist on the subject, in the Archives of the Mexican Republic, is here represented. Lastly, I was unable to consult the most important source of information, namely, the documentary material contained in the Archives of the Indies, at Sevilla, in Spain. Under these circumstances, the work has remained necessarily incomplete, and it cannot pretend to be more than an outline sketch.

There are two methods of presenting a documentary history. One is to give the texts of the documents, in their chronological sequence, with such annotations as may be important or interesting. The other is the plan which I have followed, to take the documents as a basis for a historical picture. My preference for the latter method originated in the conviction that it might prove more readable, while at the same time sufficiently accurate as far as conformity with the sources was concerned.

A documentary history always presents but one side of every question of which it treats. This is especially true here, where the docu-

ments are limited to but one group of the actors. The Indian version, which is as well entitled to a hearing as the Spanish, is but incidentally represented in the writings of the latter. I cannot, therefore, present the monograph as an impartial history, but merely as a contribution to future researches on the subject.

AD. F. BANDELIER.

SANTA FÉ, NEW MEXICO, *April* 15, 1891.

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Hemenway Southwestern Archaeological Expedition

I.

**AN OUTLINE OF THE DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE
ZUÑI TRIBE**

By A. F. BANDELIER

AN OUTLINE OF THE DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE ZUÑI TRIBE.

CHAPTER I.

FIRST DISCOVERY OF ZUNI BY THE SPANIARDS, A. D. 1538-1539.

WHETHER or not the "seven towns," of which Nuño de Guzman heard in Mexico about the year 1529,¹ were those now known as the seven pueblos of Cibola or Zuñi, it has been hitherto quite impossible to determine. It should be remembered that the public mind in Spain and Italy was just as well prepared to believe in seven legendary cities as in the tales about the fabulous Amazons. The story that the Bishop of Oporto and seven other prelates fled to the island of "Antilia" in the ninth century of our era, and founded there seven cities, was known to cosmographers ere news of Columbus' landing on Watling's Island had reached them.²

Whatever part this legend may have played in the expectations which the Spaniards at Mexico nursed in regard to northern countries, it is certain that, as early as the middle of the year 1538, news of the New Mexican pueblos reached New Spain. Fray Pedro Nadal and Fray Juan de la Asuncion (or de Olmeda) penetrated into southern Arizona,³ and on nearly the whole journey heard of a country settled

¹ Castañeda, *Relation du Voyage de Cibola* (p. 1, chap. i.).

² Jan Ruysch, *Universalior Cogniti Orbis Tabula*, 1508. The first notice appears on Martin Behaim's celebrated planisphere; but previous even to it it was

contained in a MS. quoted by Joannes a Bosco, *Bibliot. Floriæ* (p. 602).

³ The names of the two friars are given by Juan Domingo Arricivita, *Crónica seráfica y apostólica del Colegio de Propaganda fide de la Santa Cruz de Queré-*

by people who wore clothing, and who had houses with terraced roofs of earth, not only one story high, but of many stories. They also heard of a great river with large settlements along its banks, of an abundance of turquoises, and of cows "larger than those of Spain."¹

Upon the return of these monks, Fray Marcos of Nizza set out. He left the City of Mexico in September, 1538,² and Culiacan in Sinaloa on the 7th of March (old style), 1539.³ In the early part of April he

taro, 1792 (Prólogo): "El año de quiniéntos treinta y ocho por Enero salieron de México, por orden del Señor Virrey, los Padres Fr. Juan de la Asuncion, y Fr. Pedro Nadal; y caminando al Norueste como seiscientas leguas, llegaron á un Rio muy caudaloso que no pudieron pasar; y el Padre Nadal, que era muy inteligente en las matemáticas, observó la altura del Polo en treinta y cinco grados." Mota-Padilla, *Historia de la Nueva Galicia* (cap. xxii. p. 111), calls one of the friars Juan de Olmeda. The earliest mention is by Fray Toribio de Paredes, surnamed "Motolinia": *Historia de los Indios de Nueva-España* (coll. Ycazbalceta, vol. i. trat. iii. cap. v. pp. 171, 172); but he gives no names. The year is positively given as 1538, while he wrote "en el principio del año de 1540." The MS. of Lt.-Col. José Cortés, *Memorias sobre las Provincias del Norte de Nueva España*, 1799 (fol. 87), mentions Fray Juan de la Asuncion. The most detailed report on this (yet obscure) event is found in the MSS. of Mateo Mange: *Luz de Tierra incógnita*, 1720 (cap. viii. p. 165, etc.). There is also a brief notice of it by Fray Francisco Garcés in his *Diario y derrotero*, 1775-76 (p. 364).

¹ Motolinia, *Hist. de los Indios*, etc. (p. 172), copied by Mendieta, *Historia eclesíástica Indiana*, written in 1596, but

printed first in 1870 (lib. iv. cap. xi. p. 399), and of course by Fray Juan de Torquemada, *Los veinte i un Libros rituales i monarchía Indiana*, 2d edition, 1723 (lib. xix. cap. xxii. pp. 357, 358). The text of Fray Toribio Motolinia says: "De esta manera anduvo mas de trescientas leguas, y casi en todo el camino tuvo noticia de una tierra muy poblada de gente vestida, y que tienen casas de terrado, y de muchos sobrados." Mendieta, whom I have translated in the text, varies somewhat. He makes, for instance, the "cows" larger than those of Spain, whereas Motolinia says: "menores que las de España." There are other discrepancies besides, which almost lead to the inference that the friars may have heard of the Rio Grande.

² Fray Jerónimo Ximenez, *Carta al muy Reverendo Padre Fray Tomás de Villanueva*, 9 Oct., 1539 ("Nueva Coleccion de Documentos," Ycazbalceta, p. 194): "Este pasado mes de Setiembre hizo un año que partió un fraile de S. Francisco, francés de nación, desta ciudad de México en busca de una tierra de que los gobernadores destas partes han tenido noticia, y no la han podido descubrir." This confirms the reports about the anterior voyages of Fray Nadal.

³ Fray Marcos de Nizza, *Relation* (translation by Ternaux-Compans, Appendix to

received the first tidings of Cibola through a message sent him by the negro Estevan, who was then among the Opata Indians of the Sonora valley.¹

The information conveyed by this message, and subsequently verified by the priest himself, establishes, first of all, that there existed, in 1539, and prior to it, quite an intercourse between Zuñi and the land-tilling aborigines south of the Gila River. That intercourse took the form of journeys made by the Opatas,² the Southern and Northern Pimas,³ and possibly the Eudeves and Jovas, to Cibola-Zuñi, for the

Relation du Voyage de Cibola, p. 256) : "je suis parti de la ville de San Miguel, de la province de Culiacan, le vendredi, septième jour du mois de mars de l'année 1539." The same date is in Herrera, *Historia general de los Hechos de los Castellanos*, etc., ed. of 1726 (dec. vi. lib. vii. cap. vii. p. 156) : "á siete de Março de este año."

¹ *Relation* (pp. 260, 261) : "Le nègre Estévan partit avec ces ordres le dimanche de la Passion après-dîner; je restai dans cette ville qui, comme je l'ai dit, se nomme Vacapa. Quatre jours après, des envoyés d'Estévan arrivèrent avec une croix de la grandeur d'un homme; ils me dirent de sa part de partir à l'instant sur ses traces, qu'il avait trouvé des gens qui lui parlaient d'un pays le plus grand du monde, et qu'il avait avec lui des Indiens qui y avaient été; il m'en envoyait un. . . . L'Indien me dit qu'il y avait trente jours de marche depuis l'endroit où était Estévan jusqu'à la première ville du pays que l'on nomme Cibola." Herrera, *Historia* (dec. vi. p. 156) : "y al cabo de quatro dias bolviéron mensageros de Estevanico, avisando al P. Fr. Marcos, que luego le siguiese, porque havia hallado relacion de una gran Tierra, que llaman Cibola," — I have elsewhere

proven that Vacapa was near or on the site of the old mission of "Matape," south of the Sonora River in central Sonora. The distance from it to the Sonora River is about fifty to sixty miles, according to the point where the latter is reached. Compare, on Vacapa, in the *Magazine of Western History*, September, 1886, my essay on "The Discovery of New-Mexico by Fray Marcos of Niza" (p. 662). That the Opatas inhabited the Sonora Valley needs no further proof.

² *Relation* (p. 265).

³ *Idem*, p. 262 : "Le même jour, trois Indiens de la race que l'on appelle Pintados (peints) vinrent me voir. Ils avaient le visage, la poitrine et les bras peints, ils habitent dans la direction de l'Est. Un certain nombre résident dans la direction des sept villes." These were the lower Pimas or "Nébomes"; their northern relatives live on the Gila. Besides he speaks, farther on, after having crossed the first desert, of a tribe of village Indians "ces naturels connaissaient aussi bien Cibola, qu'à la Nouvelle Espagne on connaît México, et Cuzco au Pérou" (p. 268). These were the "Sobaypuris" in the valley of the Rio San Pedro (Arizona), a branch of the northern Pimas.

purpose of acquiring turquoises and buffalo hides,¹ in exchange for which they gave parrots' feathers,² and probably sea-shells,³ or which they earned by working for the Indians of Zuñi.⁴ No mention is made of the people of Cibola visiting those of the south, which is quite natural, since buffalo hides and turquoises were more important to the latter than plumes and shells were to the former. The information which Fray Marcos gathered among the Opatas proved to be quite trustworthy; it embraced the Moquis, or Totonteac,⁵ and Acoma or Hacus.⁶ Still it bears a stamp which plainly shows that the intercourse, while it took place, was neither steady nor regular. We must always bear in mind that Fray Marcos traveled only, nowhere making

Compare my *Discovery of New Mexico by Fray Marcos*, etc. (p. 664), also my publication on "Cibola" (*N. York Staatszeitung*).

¹ *Relation* (pp. 263-266, 271, 272, etc.). Herrera (dec. vi. pp. 156, 157).

² This is indicated by Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, *Naufragios, y Relacion de la Jornada que hizo à la Florida* (Vedia, vol. i. p. 543): "Dábannos tambien muchas cuentas y de unos corales que hay en la mar del Sur, muchas turquesas muy buenas que tienen de hácia el norte, . . . les pregunté que dónde las habían habido, y dijeron que las traían de unas sierras muy altas que están hácia el norte, y las compraban á trueco de penachos y plumas de papagayos, y decían que había allá pueblos de mucha gente y casas muy grandes." The Indians whom Cabeza de Vaca met in the Sierra Madre were the "Jovas," a branch and dialect of the Opatas, as I have shown in the July number of the *Magazine of Western History*, 1886, "Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, the first overland traveler of European descent," etc. (pp. 331, 335, 336). Compare, also, the German text of *Cibola*.

³ Sea-shells among the Pueblos come, and came, mostly from the Gulf of California. To-day, if asked whence they have the large iridescent bivalves worn as ornaments and used for sacred purposes, the Rio Grande Pueblos invariably reply: "Puerto de Guaymas." Until 1859 the Pueblos made annual trading expeditions into Sonora, exchanging blankets, buffalo robes, turquoises, etc., for shells, coral, and parrots' feathers.

⁴ *Relation* (p. 264): "Je leur demandai contre quoi ils échangeaient ces marchandises; ils me répondirent que c'était avec leur sueur et le travail de leurs mains; qu'ils allaient à la première ville nommée Cibola, et qu'on les y occupait à creuser la terre et à d'autres travages; que les habitants leur donnaient des cuirs de vaches et des turquoises en paiement." This may have been a misunderstanding; it may have been applied to other work, such as the manner of extracting the turquoises from the rock, for instance. The means of understanding were imperfect.

⁵ *Idem* (p. 263). Herrera (p. 157, dec. vi.) has "Tonteac."

⁶ *Idem*.

any protracted stay, and that consequently he could not gather much detail. His means of conversation, furthermore, were limited ;¹ hence grave misunderstandings could not be avoided. One of the most curious instances of the kind occurs in the description given by the priest of a certain animal whose hide was given to him by the natives, as follows : " In this valley they brought to me a hide one and one half times larger than the skin of a cow ; they told me it belonged to an animal that had but one horn on his forehead ; this horn bends down to the breast and then rises in a straight point, which gives so much strength to the animal that there is no object, no matter how hard it may be, which it cannot break." The Opatas had never seen the buffalo.²

Fray Marcos is very careful to state whenever he gathers information from hearsay, and to distinguish it from what he has seen himself. Thus the statements about a large and extensive trade with Cibola are given by him as reports of the Opata Indians³ and, later on, of the Sobaypuris, who then (and as late as 1763 or 1767⁴) inhabited the valley of the Rio San Pedro from Contention to near the Arivaypa. Among the Sobaypuris he met the first Zuñi Indian, an old man⁵ who must have left his home a long time previous, as a fugitive. He was

¹ He took with him, from Mexico, six Indians from northern Sinaloa, as interpreters. These Indians had been educated there for that purpose. Herrera (dec. vi. lib. vii. cap. vii. p. 155) : " seis Indios de aquella Tierra, que eran Esclavos, i dió el visorrei al P. Fr. Marcos para su compaña, que los havia tenido en Mexico, para que se hiciesen ladinos, i tomasen amor á las cosas de los Christianos. . . ." The languages spoken in that corner of Petatlan, with the exception of " Bamoa," which was " Pima," and a settlement made upon the return of Cabeza de Vaca with Pima Indians, were dialects of the " Yaqui." Orozco y Berra, *Geografía de las Lenguas*

(p. 335). These interpreters were therefore of little use to him among the Opatas. Even if they were Pimas, the conversation always remained a broken and difficult one.

² *Relation* (p. 271). Herrera mentions it also (dec. vi. p. 158). It may also have been several hides of mountain-sheep stitched together.

³ *Relation* (pp. 263, 265, etc.).

⁴ *Rudo Ensayo, tentativa de una prevencional Descripcion Geográfica de la Sonora* (1761-2, published by Buckingham Smith, pp. 102, 103, 105) has 1763. Arricivita, *Crónica seráfica* (p. 410), says 1769.

⁵ *Relation* (pp. 269, 270).

the first person to mention "Ahacus," or "Ha-ui-cu," as the largest village of Cibola.¹ From him the friar gathered information about Marata, or Matyata, the pueblos southeast of Zuñi. This information conveys interesting historical data, and refers to events which transpired some time previous to 1539. It deserves to be transcribed in full : —

"He told me that towards the southeast there exists a kingdom which is called Marata, where there are very considerable settlements, that all have houses of stone several stories high, that they have been at war, and are still warring against the sovereign of the 'Seven Towns.' According to him these hostilities have greatly diminished the power of the kingdom of Marata ; nevertheless, it is powerful yet and continues to hold its own." ²

Neither Melchior Diaz nor Francisco Vasquez de Coronado mentions these settlements, although the former heard of Cibola, and the latter visited it within about a year after Fray Marcos' return. It is quite certain that they had already been abandoned at the time the friar heard of them as a "kingdom," still at war with Zuñi ; yet his informants could have had no interest in inventing such a statement. The ruins southeast of Zuñi show excellent preservation, and the inference is that the old man in the San Pedro valley spoke of events which happened during the earlier days of his life. If such is the case, then it places the abandonment of the villages mentioned at the close of the fifteenth or the beginning of the sixteenth century, — between 1480 and 1539, — and the cause of their ruin would appear to be, not the hostility of the Apaches, but intertribal strife and the final absorption of the people by the more powerful cluster in the Zuñi basin.³

¹ *Relation* (p. 271). Herrera (dec. vi. p. 157).

² *Relation* (p. 270). Herrera (dec. vi. p. 158) : "i que á la parte del Oeste estaba el Reino de Marata, adonde solia haver grandes Poblaciones, con casas de piedra, i cal, como en Cibola, el qual es-

taba mui disminuido, por la guerra que tenia con el Señor de las Ciudades. . . ."

³ This story is another evidence of the infrequency and irregularity of intercourse. In Sonora Fray Marcos also heard of Marata as a still existing tribe or "kingdom," as the terminology of the

North of the Sobaypuri villages, that is beyond the Arivaypa, began the "great desert," or rather uninhabited country, which it required fifteen days' march to cross, and at the end of which lay Cibola.¹ This desert is the mountainous country now inhabited by the White Mountain and San Carlos Apaches; still Fray Marcos makes no mention of any Indians dwelling there or roaming through it. A year later the Apaches are described by Castañeda.² It is certain that they never interfered with any of the Spanish explorers and armed bodies between 1539 and 1542; it appears, also, that they were not troublesome to the sedentary Indians of Sonora and Zuñi at that time, else Fray Marcos and his immediate successors could not have failed to notice it. It is possible, also, that the appearance of the strange people kept them temporarily at bay, causing a lull in the otherwise customary hostilities.

Fray Marcos entered the "despoblado" May ⁹/₁₉; ³ and, after traveling twelve days, met an Indian who had escaped death at the hands of the Zuñi people, and who brought him news of Estevan's fate. The negro must, therefore, have been killed about the 30th of May, 1539.⁴

There are a number of versions of the cause and manner of his death, more or less contemporaneous with the event. I shall give them in the original text, so as to enable comparison, selecting for that purpose the principal ones only.⁵

period has it (p. 263). News traveled very slowly.

¹ *Relation* (p. 272). Herrera (dec. vi. p. 158): "porsque desde el principio del Despoblado, hasta largos quince dias de camino. . . ."

² *Voyage de Cibola* (p. ii. chap. iii. p. 162): "qui forment la nation la plus barbare que l'on ait encore trouvée dans ces parages. Ces Indiens habitent dans des cabanes isolées, et ne vivent que de chasse."

³ *Relation* (p. 273): "J'entrai dans le désert le neuf de mai." Herrera (dec. vi.

p. 158): "se partió, i entró en el despoblado á nueve de Maio," nineteenth of May, new style.

⁴ See above. Twelve days after the 19th May bring us to the 31st of May. Consequently they met the Indian on the 1st of June. The man was fleeing; and even if it took three days' march yet to Zuñi, an Indian, when he dreads pursuit, goes quicker. The death of the negro, therefore, took place probably on the 30th of May, early in the morning.

⁵ I give them as literally as possible.

1. The two versions given by Fray Marcos, in 1539.
2. The confirmation of the above by Melchior Diaz, in 1540.
3. The version of Pedro de Castañeda.
4. The one of Juan Jaramillo.

Versions 3 and 4 were written much later than 1539, but the data were obtained on the spot one year after the occurrence.

5. The version of Hernando Alarcon, in 1541.

6. The version of Antonio de Herrera, about 1600, gathered from anterior sources.

- (1.) DEATH OF ESTEVAN AS REPORTED TO FRAY MARCOS OF NIZZA, ON THE FIRST DAY OF JUNE, 1539, BY A FUGITIVE SOBAYPURI INDIAN.¹

“One day previous to reaching Cibola, Estevan sent his gourd with some messengers, as it was his custom, in order to give notice of his arrival. To this gourd were attached a string (rosary) of rattles (bells) and two plumes, one white and the other red. When the messengers arrived before the chief, who represents the sovereign in that town, they gave him the gourd. The man took it, and, seeing the bells, grew furious, threw the gourd down, telling the messengers to leave, and saying that he knew the strangers, and that they must not come into the town, otherwise he would kill them all. The messengers retraced their steps and reported to Estevan how they had been received. The latter replied that it was nothing, that those who showed the

¹ As to the date, see above. That he was a Sobaypuri is proven by the following words in *Relation* (p. 274): “Quand je fus arrivé dans cet endroit, je fus rejoint par un Indien, fils d’un des chefs qui m’accompagnaient, et qui avait suivi Estévan le nègre.” Among the Sobaypuris (p. 273): “Ils me dirent qu’Estévan, le nègre, était parti de chez eux suivi de plus de trois-cents hommes qui lui servaient d’escorte ou qui portaient des vivres.”

Finally (p. 281): “Je repassai le désert avec eux ; mais on ne m’y fit pas un si bon accueil que la première fois parceque les hommes et les femmes étaient tous en pleurs à cause de leurs parents que l’on avait tués à Cibola. J’en fus épouvanté, et je quittai aussitôt les habitants de cette vallée.” This shows that the Indians with Estevan were Sobaypuris, and from the Rio San Pedro.

greatest displeasure at his coming always received him the best afterwards. He therefore continued his journey to Cibola. As he was about to enter the town he was stopped by some Indians, who conducted him to a large house outside of the town, and took away from him all he carried, the objects for exchange, the turquoises, and many other presents which he had received during his trip. He and his companions passed the night in this house without anything to eat or drink. Next morning, this Indian, feeling thirsty, went out to get a drink at a river which flowed near by. Soon after he saw Estevan running away, pursued by the inhabitants of the town, who were killing the natives of his escort. As soon as the Indian perceived this, he followed the course of the river and hid himself ; then he took the road to the desert.”¹

(II.) DEATH OF ESTEVAN, AS REPORTED TO FRAY MARCOS BY TWO SOBAYPURI INDIANS, ABOUT THE 3D OF JUNE, 1539.

“ Finally they told me that Estevan, having arrived within a day’s march of Cibola, had sent to that town messengers carrying his gourd, to make known to the chief that he was coming to treat for peace and to cure the sick. As soon as the messengers gave the gourd to the chief and he saw the rattles (bells), he became angry, threw the gourd on the ground, and said : ‘ I recognize these people by the rattles (bells), they are not friends of ours ; tell them to turn back at once, otherwise not one of them shall live. He continued to appear very angry. The messengers went away much troubled ; they were afraid to tell Estevan what had occurred, yet finally decided to do so. He told them not to be afraid, that he intended to go into the town, and although they had been treated in an unfriendly manner, he should be well received. So he continued to advance, and reached Cibola at sunset, accompanied by his entire retinue, which amounted to about three hundred men, not counting the women. He was not allowed to enter the town, however ; the Indians showed him, for lodgings, a

¹ *Relation* (pp. 274, 275). To avoid the *Descubrimiento de la Siete Cidades* prolixity I do not give the original text of here. It is found in *Documentos Inéditos*.

large house and good quarters outside of it. They at once took everything that Estevan had, and carried it away from him, saying that it was according to the orders of their chief; they gave neither food nor drink to our Indians during the whole night. Next morning, at the first rays of the sun, Estevan went out of the house, followed by some of the chiefs who had accompanied him; at once a number of the inhabitants of the town presented themselves; as soon as he saw them he took to flight, with the allied Indians. They sent us a shower of arrows, and uttered loud cries; we fell; they pursued; and we remained prostrate until evening without moving. We heard great shouts in the town, and saw on the terraces a considerable number of men and women looking on. We did not see Estevan again; we believe he was killed with arrows, together with those who accompanied him; we alone escaped.”¹

(III.) FROM THE LETTER OF MELCHIOR DIAZ TO THE VICEROY,
DON ANTONIO DE MENDOZA, RECEIVED BY THE LATTER ON MARCH
20,
30, 1540.

“Estevan, the negro, came to his death in the manner reported by Father Marcos to your lordship; for this reason I do not speak of it here. I will only say that the inhabitants of Cibola have sent word to those of this village and of the surrounding country, warning them not to receive the Christians if any of them should come, but to kill them, and declaring that they know them to be mortal, for they have the bones of the one who visited them; if they do not dare to kill them, they request them to send word, that they may come and do it.”² Melchior Diaz gathered these reports in Northern Sonora, cold preventing him from proceeding farther north.³

¹ *Relation* (pp. 276–278).

² Don Antonio de Mendoza. *Douzième lettre à l'Empereur Charles V.*, 17 April, 1540. (Appendix to *Voyage de Cibola*, pp. 296, 297.)

³ *Idem* (p. 292): “A cent lieues de Cu-

liacan, Melchior Diaz commença à entrer dans un pays froid, et il gela très-fort. Plus il avançait plus le froid était grand. . . . En conséquence, il se déterminà à ne pas s'avancer davantage, jusqu'à ce que l'hiver fut passé. . . .”

(IV.) FROM THE "RELATION OF THE JOURNEY OF CIBOLA UNDERTAKEN IN 1540," BY PEDRO DE CASTAÑEDA.

"Estevan arrived at Cibola with a great number of turquoises, and several handsome women, who had been presented to him on the road. He had with him quite a number of Indians who had been given to him as guides in the places that he passed through, and who believed that under his protection they might traverse the whole world without fear. But as the Indians of Cibola are more shrewd than those whom Estevan brought with him, they shut him up in a house outside of their village. There he was interrogated by the old men and the Cacique on the cause that had brought him to their country. After having questioned him for three days, they came together to deliberate upon his fate. The negro having told the Indians that he was the forerunner of two white men, sent by a mighty prince, who were very learned in matters of heaven, which they came to teach, these people thought he might be the guide or spy of some nation who intended to subjugate them. It appeared, above all, incredible to them that he, who was black, should come from the country of white men. Estevan had demanded their wealth and their women, and this seemed hard to consent to. They therefore decided upon killing him, which they did, without doing the least harm to those who accompanied him. They kept a few boys, and sent back all the others, who numbered about sixty." ¹

¹ *Relation du Voyage de Cibola entrepris en 1540* (i. chap. iii. pp. 12, 13). Castañeda is very bitter against Fray Marcos, and does not even stop at slander

and deliberate lying, as I have shown in *Discovery of New Mexico by Fray Marcos*, etc. (pp. 667-669).

(V.) FROM THE "RELATION OF THE JOURNEY MADE TO THE NEW COUNTRY UNDER THE ORDERS OF GENERAL FRANCISCO VAZQUEZ DE CORONADO," BY CAPTAIN JUAN JARAMILLO.¹

"It is in this place that Estevanillo was killed, the negro who had come from Florida with Dorantes, and who had returned to this country with Fray Marcos of Nizza."²

(VI.) HERNANDO ALARCON, "RELATION OF THE NAVIGATION AND OF THE DISCOVERY," 1540 AND 1541.³

Alarcon anchored off the mouth of the great Colorado River of the West, with his two vessels, on the 25th of August (old style), 1540. On the following days he ascended the Rio Colorado in two boats, with twenty-two men.⁴ He ascended it for eighty-five leagues (two hundred and thirty miles) twice,⁵ and had frequent communications with the Indians on its banks. He made on an average five and a half leagues (fifteen miles) per day.⁶ When about half way up the river, in the

¹ (In Appendix to Castañeda's *Cibola*, vi.) "Relation du voyage fait à la Nouvelle Terre sous les ordres du général Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, commandant de l'expédition" (pp. 364-382). The Spanish original is printed in *Documentos Inéditos*, under the title of "Relacion hecha por el capitan Juan Jaramillo de la Jornada que habia hecho á la Tierra nueva en Nueva España y al descubrimiento de Cibola." Herrera's account of Coronado's expedition is largely taken from Jaramillo.

² *Relation du Voyage* (p. 369). Herrera, *Hist. général* (dec. vi. lib. ix. cap. xi. p. 205): "En pocos dias de camino llegaron á la primera poblacion de Cibola, adonde mataron á Estevanico de Orantes."

³ (Castañeda, Appendix IV.) "Relation de la navigation et de la découverte

faite par le Capitaine Alarcon" (pp. 298-348). The Spanish original is also in *Documentos Inéditos*. Herrera (dec. vi. lib. xi. cap. xiii.-xv.) copies it almost literally.

⁴ Alarcon, *Relation* (i. p. 302). Herrera (dec. vi. p. 209): "por loqual el capitan, con el veedor Rodrigo Maldonado, i el contador Gaspar de Castillejo, en un batil, bien armado, subió por el rio este dia, que eran veinte i seis de Agosto." The original says two boats.

⁵ *Relation* (p. 347). Herrera (dec. vi. p. 213): "que havia subido por aquel rio 85, Leguas."

⁶ *Relation* (vii. p. 339). Herrera (*ut supra*): "Determinado de tornar á la Mar, anduvo en dos dias, lo que agua arriba navegó en quince." Original says fifteen and one half.

vicinity of the Cocopa villages,¹ he heard of "Cevola." The Cocopa Indians told him that Cevola was thirty days' journey from their country, but that it could be easily reached by a trail which followed the river, in which case forty days would be needed.² One or two days farther on he questioned one of the same Indians again. "He told me that the chief of that country had a dog similar to the one I had with me. Having expressed a desire to eat, this man, seeing the plates brought in, said that the chief of Cevola had similar ones, but that they were green, and that the chief was the only one who owned such plates. He had four of them, which had been given to him, together with the dog, by a man who was black and bearded. He did not know when this black man had come, but he had been told that the chief of Cevola caused him to be killed.³ His informant was an old Cocopa Indian who accompanied him, and who had been to Zuñi in person."⁴ On another occasion, when Alarcon asked him about Cevola again, and whether the inhabitants of that country had ever seen people like us, he replied, "No, except a negro who wore on his feet and arms something that gave a ringing sound." "Your lordship will remember that the negro who accompanied friar Marcos had rattles (bells), and feathers on his arms and legs, that he had plates of different colors, and that he came to this country a little over a year ago. I wished to know why he had been killed. He said, "The chief of Cevola having asked him whether he had other brethren, the negro replied that he had an infinite number, that they carried many weapons, and were not very far off. Upon this statement a great many chiefs gathered in council, and agreed upon killing the negro, so that he

¹ The Cocopa villages are scattered between 48 and 132 miles above the mouth of the Colorado.

² *Relation* (v. p. 324). Herrera (vi. p. 211): "que estaria de allí camino de un mes."

³ *Relation* (v. p. 326). Herrera (*Idem*).

⁴ Alarcon had an interpreter with him,

an Indian and a Cocopa. This man is so often mentioned that I need but refer to Alarcon's report in general, without further details. Also to Herrera. In regard to his journey to Zuñi, see *Relation* (p. 324): "J'appris de lui qu'il avait été à Cevola . . . qu'en faisant ce voyage, il n'avait eu d'autre but que de voir Cevola, parce que c'était un pays extraordinaire."

might not impart any information to his brethren in regard to the country of Cevola. Such was the cause of his death. His body was cut into a great many pieces, which were distributed among all the chiefs, in order that they might know that he was surely dead. He added that the negro had a dog like mine, and that the chief of Cevola caused the animal to be killed some time afterwards.”¹ Among the Yumas² Alarcon heard positive reports of the arrival of Coronado at Zuñi, and of the engagement which the Spaniards had with its people. Two of the Yumas had just returned, or were expected to return, from a trip to Cibola. They had been met by one of their friends, and had told him that their original intention was to go farther, but that they had found in that country a people as brave as we are, and of like appearance, who had made war on the inhabitants of Cevola because the latter killed one of their friends who was black; that they had asked the natives of Cevola: “Why did you kill him? what has he done to you? has he taken your food? has he done you any harm?” and similar questions. The Indians added that these strangers called themselves Christians, that they dwelt in a large house, and had cows like those of the inhabitants of Cibola, and little black animals covered with wool, having horns; that they had others on which they rode, etc., etc.”³

(VII.) ANTONIO DE HERRERA, “GENERAL HISTORY OF THE DEEDS OF THE CASTILIANS,” ETC., WRITTEN ABOUT 1598.⁴

This great and cautious compiler has followed closely the version of Fray Marcos in the case of Estevan; he gives a literal copy of the text

¹ *Relation* (vi. pp. 331, 332).

² The Yumas lived, and live, along the river, above the Cocopas.

³ *Relation* (vii. p. 337). Herrera (dec. vi. p. 211): “haciendo instancia por uno ó dos que referían, que habían estado en Cibola, le llevaron uno, que dixo haver visto muchos Hombres, que se llamaban Christianos, con barbas, i que llevaban ciertos

animales grandes, i otros pequeños negros, i armas de fuego, como las que le mostraron; i con estas, i otras señales, que le dieron, diciendo, que aquellos habían castigado al Señor de Cibola, porque había muerto á un Hombre negro, conocieron, que era el Exercito de Juan Vasquez de Coronado.”

⁴ The *Historia général* was published

of the friar's report, with the exception that, quoting the report of the two Indians whom he met last, Herrera abbreviates somewhat, saying: "And in turn they were conformable to all that the first Indian had told," also, farther on: "Forthwith many of the people of the city fell upon them, and fleeing, the companions of Estevan fell over each other; there were more than three hundred of them, without counting the women; those who were wounded threw themselves among the dead until night, when they arose and fled."¹ The latter is a clearer description than the one given by Fray Marcos.

It is evident that only two of the seven versions just quoted could have been obtained at Zuñi, — those of Jaramillo and of Castañeda (v. and iv.). The first one is of no consequence beyond confirming the fact. Castañeda, however, varies greatly from the tales which the Sobaypuri fugitives told the friar. The former speaks of an interview, and of a delay of three days, before the Zuñis put the negro to death; he also says that none of the Indians accompanying Estevan were killed. That a parley took place is proved by the reports gathered from the Yuma Indians by Alarcon, and it was natural for the dismayed Sobaypuris to have forgotten to mention it, as well as for Fray Marcos to have overlooked it. It is equally possible, that owing to the throng of people which must have at once surrounded Estevan, the survivors did not witness the first interview. But while I concede the fact of a preliminary examination, I am unwilling to admit the three days' delay and the killing of Estevan alone. The eye-witnesses knew better than Castañeda, who came to Zuñi a year at least after the event. They say that they came to Cibola at sunset, and that on the next day at sunrise Estevan was murdered, together with his Indian

first in four volumes folio, and from 1601 to 1615. The authorization, however, bears the date of 1599, beginning with the 3d of January. Consequently it was finished in 1598.

¹ (Dec. vi. lib. vii. cap. viii. p. 158) "i en suma se conformaron con todo lo que el primer Indio havia dicho . . . é luego

dieron en ellos muchos de la Ciudad, i huyendo, caian los de Estevan unos sobre otros, que eran mas de trecientos, sin las mugeres, i que entonces los flecharon, i dieron aquellas heridas, i que se echaron entre los muertos, hasta la noche, que se levantaron, i huieron."

escort. They themselves "reached home covered with blood and wounds,"¹ and their friends on the San Pedro "were in tears on account of the relatives whom they had lost at Cibola."² That the killing of Estevan was decided upon in a council held that same night at Quiaquima is likely, and I believe that it was the intention of the Zuñis to kill him alone. But it is equally certain that the following morning the negro tried to escape with his retinue, and that this attempt precipitated his death, as well as the slaughter of his Indians.

Now as to the motives for the murder. The story told by Pedro de Castañeda, that Estevan demanded the women of the Zuñis, may be true, although it is not likely that he would have introduced himself by such an outrageous demand. The Yumas heard nothing of it. Their version appears to me the one most likely of all to be true. The Zuñis were evidently displeased from the outset. Estevan's boldness further irritated them, and when he spoke of the powerful nation to which he belonged, and of which some people were on the way thither, they became frightened; the negro appeared to them as a dangerous man; a forerunner of evil, or a spy; finally, when he stated that his brethren were white, in spite of the darkness of his own complexion, they thought him guilty of falsehood, and therefore resolved to kill him.

Fray Marcos was not dismayed at his companions' misfortune. He was determined at least to see the country of Cibola. Castañeda denies that he came any nearer than sixty leagues. This is one of the many slurs which the growling chronicler casts at the friar, and, like the others, it is a slander. The missionary was only three days from the place, and as he rightly says himself: "I told them that I must see the town of Cebola at all events;" so he finally persuaded his Indian chiefs to follow him.³

¹ *Relation* (p. 276): "ils arrivèrent couverts de sang et de blessures." Herrera (dec. vi. p. 158): "á una jornada de Cibola toparan otros dos Indios, de los que havian ido con Estevan, muy ensangrentados, i heridos; i en viendolos, se començo entre todos un lastimoso llanto."

² *Relation* (p. 281). Herrera (dec. vi. p. 159): "i entrando en el Valle, fueron grandes los llantos por los muertos, por lo qual se despidió luego."

³ *Relation* (p. 279). Herrera (vi. p. 159): "dixo, que no se havia de bolver sin ver á Cibola."

Counting inevitable delays, Fray Marcos must have come in sight of the desired spot four days later than the 31st of May; therefore, on the 4th of June he must have looked down upon the basin from the heights of its southern border, whence it indeed presents the appearance as described by him: "It is built in a plain, on the slope of a round hill."¹ This simple description is one of the many proofs of the fact that Fray Marcos got within sight of the Zuñi plain. He could not have invented it, nor given it in so graphic and true a manner, and in as few words, had he only repeated the words of an Indian description.

Among the remarkable instructions given to the missionary by Don Antonio de Mendoza there is the following: "I authorize you to take possession of the new country in the name of His Majesty; you will perform all the acts and fulfill all the formalities which may appear necessary to you."² Therefore, after Fray Marcos had "observed the appearance of the town, I thought it proper to name the country the new Kingdom of Saint Francis. With the aid of the Indians I erected on the spot a great heap of stones, and placed on top a small cross, not having the tools necessary for making a larger one. I proclaimed that I built the stone heap and erected the cross in the name of Don Antonio de Mendoza, viceroy and governor of New Spain, for the Emperor our Sovereign, in token of taking possession, in this place, of all the Seven Towns, and also of the Kingdoms of Totonteac, of Acus, and of Marata, although I did not visit them, wishing to return and report what I had seen and done."³

¹ *Relation* (p. 279): "Elle est bâtie dans une plaine sur le penchant d'une colline de forme ronde." Herrera (dec. vi. p. 159): "que está asentada en un llano, en la falda de un cerro redondo."

² "Instruction donnée par Don Antonio de Mendoza, vice-roi de la Nouvelle-Espagne, au Père Marcos de Niza" (App. to *Cibola*, i. p. 252). Herrera (vi. p. 156): "tomase posesion de ella, con los Autos mas legitimos, que le pareciesen."

³ Fray Marcos, *Relation* (p. 280). Herrera (vi. p. 159): "con el aiuda de los Indios hizo en aquel lugar un monton de piedra, i puso encima una Cruz, i dixo, que la ponía en nombre de Don Antonio de Mendoza, Visorrei, i Governador de Nueva-España, por el Rei de Castilla, i de Leon, en señal de posesion, la qual allí tomaba de aquellas Siete Ciudades, i de los Reinos de Totonteac, de Acus, i de Marata, i que no pasaba á ellos, por bolver con

This first act of taking possession included, besides Zuñi, the Moqui villages and Acoma. It took place, in all probability, on the fourth day of June, 1539, and conveyed as much of a legal title as in modern times the unfurling and planting of a flag on the shores of some inhabited island, or in a village whose inhabitants are under the gentle persuasive powers of a ship of war turning its broadside towards the land. Hereafter, Zuñi or Cibola, Moqui or Totonteac, and Acoma or Acus, were looked upon as parts of the Spanish Empire, and, should their inhabitants resist, they would appear in the light of rebels. This view of the matter is by no means one of the past, as evidenced in the South Sea, and by our own intercourse with the Indian tribes of to-day.

After performing this formality, Fray Marcos fled. He could do nothing else, if he wanted to secure the knowledge of his discovery to the government that had sent him: "I feared that in case I were killed, the knowledge of the country might be lost."¹ It was in obedience to another part of his instructions that he proceeded so cautiously: "You shall always endeavor to travel with as much safety as possible. You shall first ascertain if the natives are at war with each other, and avoid giving them any occasion to act against your person, as it would compel proceedings to punish them, in which case, instead of enlightening them and doing them good, the reverse would occur."² In the presence of these facts, how unjust appears the reproach of cowardice which Castañeda makes against the priest!

The Zuñis do not seem to have noticed the presence of Fray Marcos.

relacion de lo hecho, i visto, i con esto se bolvió á la gente, que dixó atras. . . ."

¹ *Relation* (p. 280). Herrera (dec. vi. p. 159): "i afirmaba el P. Fr. Marcos, que estuvo tentado de entrarse en la Ciudad, pero que considerando, que si moría, no se podría tener relacion de aquella tierra, que le parecía la mejor de lo descubierto."

² *Instruction donnée*, etc. (p. 251).

Herrera (vi. p. 156): "Que siempu fuese lo mas seguramente, que pudiese, informandose primero, si las tierras estaban de paz, ó de guerra los unos Indios con los otros, porque no hiciesen algun desconcierto contra su persona, porque sería dar causa, à que por el castigo se procediese contra estos, porque en lugar de irles á hacer bien, sería lo contrario."

But the appearance of the negro roused them to preparations for war, in case his white countrymen should appear. This was noticed by Melchior Diaz in northern Sonora. It seems that the people of Cibola endeavored to form a coalition with the Sobaypuris and Opatas against the dreaded strangers; for Diaz remarks at the close of the passage quoted in No. III.: "I believe it is true, and that they have formed an alliance, judging from the coldness with which we were received, and from the sour faces which they made."¹

The influence of the friar's report upon public opinion in New Spain will be considered in the next chapter. All that remains to be noticed here is a summary of the condition of Zuñi, as presented in documents relating to the events connected with its first discovery in 1539. That Zuñi was Cibola it is needless to attempt to prove any further. The tribe inhabited seven pueblos, the largest of which, at that time, was Ahacus or Hauicu. This last village is probably the one of which Melchior Diaz says: "At one day's march from the last-named province, there exists a town whose natives are at war with each other. The houses, the people, and their relations are similar. They assure me that this town is the largest of all."² As for outside enemies, we have seen that the war with Marata was then a thing of the past; but Alarcon states that, having asked his old interpreter whether the natives of Cibola had any enemies, he replied, "Yes," and also mentioned fourteen or fifteen chiefs who were at war among themselves.³ Who those enemies were is not stated, and, as I have already remarked, there is no mention either of the Apaches or the Navajos.

The Zuñis, it appears, were at that date an autonomous tribe, independent of all others in the land. The terms used by authors are, of course, those of the period. For "kingdom" and "province" we must substitute the simple "tribe," and for "sovereign," "chief." The most advanced among Europeans had no idea of the social organization of these Indians. Although the picture presented of the Zuñis in 1539 is only the result of a glimpse obtained from a distance,

¹ Mendoza, *Deuxième lettre*, p. 297.

² *Idem*, p. 296.

³ Alarcon, *Relation de la Navigation et de la Découverte*, p. 332.

still it is astonishing to observe how much Fray Marcos and Melchior Diaz ascertained about them in so short time. Much of it is adorned with Indian flourish ; there are misunderstandings and consequent mis-statements, but there remains a solid body of interesting facts. These facts, valuable to ethnology, might properly find their place here, but I prefer to reserve them for the next chapter, where they will come in as useful corollary to the reports of later Spanish explorers.

CHAPTER II.

THE TRIBE OF ZUÑI. — ITS HISTORY FROM 1539 TO 1600, ACCORDING TO EARLY SPANISH DOCUMENTS.

[SECTION I. 1540-1542.]

THE reports of Fray Marcos of Nizza are the only source of knowledge about the Indians of Zuñi which we have at command up to the year 1539. I believe that I have established, with the aid of Mr. Cushing's labors, and some collateral documents, the fact that Fray Marcos' statements are truthful. Still, it cannot be overlooked that there existed a widespread distrust of the monk's assertions among his contemporaries, and that the contrast between his picture of the country and the appearance of things in reality excited a cry of indignation among the soldiers of Coronado, and the bitterest reproaches of Coronado himself.¹ Why this difference between the written statements and the popular version thereof? If Fray Marcos lied in speech, could he not as well have lied in writing?

It is one thing to describe certain countries hitherto unknown, and strange objects existing there, and another thing to create an accurate conception thereof in the minds of others. In the first half of the sixteenth century it was extremely difficult to be sober in relating, and equally difficult to be soberly understood. We have many examples of this frame of mind in modern times, even. As soon as an "excitement" takes hold of the public, then no report is too "big" to be true, and even truthful descriptions become invariably distorted through popular repetition. From 1492 to 1560 Spain and the Spaniards were very

¹ Coronado, *Carta al Emperador*, 20 "visto que no abia ninguna cosa de las que
October, 1541 (*Documentos inéditos del* fray Márcos dijo."
Archivo de Indias, vol. xiii. p. 267):

much excited. Everything they saw and heard in regard to America was exaggerated. Hence, a large number of accurate reports on American topics were disregarded at the time, because they did not suit the attitude of the public mind.

Besides the official report of Fray Marcos, we have a number of statements of what he *told verbally*, and how it was interpreted by the listeners.

During the litigation carried on by Nuño de Guzman against Cortés and Hernando de Soto about their respective rights to discover and pacify the regions north of Mexico, seven witnesses were examined on the subject of Fray Marcos, his discoveries, and the popular reports concerning them. Not one of these had heard the friar speak; they only spoke from hearsay. According to the words of one of them (which agree with the utterances of the others), he "heard it stated publicly, that about a month and a half ago there came a monk, lately arriving from some newly discovered land which, they say, is five hundred leagues from Mexico, in the country of Florida, and towards the north. Of this country it is said that it is rich in gold and other valuable products, and has large villages. The houses are of stone and earth, after the manner of those of Mexico, the people use weights and measures, they are civilized, marry only once, dress in woolen goods, and ride on certain unknown animals." Another witness testifies "that his son-in-law is a barber, and shaves the friar who came from the said country, and that he informed him that, while shaving the friar, the latter told him that before reaching that country there was a mountain-chain and beyond it a river; that there were many cities and towns well peopled, that the cities were walled and the gates guarded; that the people were very wealthy; that there were silversmiths; that the women wore jewels of gold and the men girdles of gold, and white woolen dresses; that they had sheep, cows, and quails, and that there were butchers and smithies." ¹

¹ *Proceso del Marqués del Valle y Tierra nueva, 1541 (Documentos inéditos, vol. xv. pp. 394, 395), Garcia Navarro*
Nuño de Guzman y los Adelantados Soto
y Alvarado, sobre el descubrimiento de la testifies: "ques verdad questando este

A contemporary of Fray Marcos, Fray Gerónimo Ximenez de San Estevan, wrote to Saint Thomas of Villanueva, under date of the 9th of October, 1539: "A year ago last month, a Franciscan friar of French origin left the City of Mexico in search of a land. . . . He traveled five hundred leagues through a settled country, and met with a stretch thickly populated; he says that the people are civilized, and have walled cities containing many houses; they wear shoes and gaiters of hide, and many of them wear dresses reaching to the feet. He tells so much of the riches of this country that it is almost incredible, and thus much the same friar has told me personally, that he saw temples of idols, the walls of which are covered, as well within as without, with precious stones. At first he told me they were emeralds. He also relates that farther on there are camels and elephants." ¹

testigo en México, oyo decir publicamente, puede haber un mes y medio, poco mas ó menos, que habia venido un fraile, nuevamente, de una tierra, nuevamente descubierta, que dicen ques quinientas leguas de México, en la tierra de la Florida, que dicen ques hácia la parte del Norte de la dicha tierra; la qual diz, que es tierra rica de oro é plata é otros resgates, é grandes pueblos; que las casas son de piedra é terrados á la manera de México, é que tienen peso é medida, é gente de razon, é que no casan mas de una vez, é que visten albornoces, é que andan cabalgando en unos animales, que no sabe cómo se llaman." . . . Andrés Garcia testifies: "questando este testigo en la ciudad de México, . . . é questo testigo tiene un yerno barbero que afeitaba al fraile que vino de la dicha tierra; é quel dicho su yerno, le dixo este testigo, questando afeitando al dicho fraile, le dixo como antes que llegasen á la dicha tierra estaba una sierra, é que pasando la dicha tierra estaba un rio, é que habia muchas poblaciones de

ciudades é villas, é que las ciudades son cercadas é guardadas á las puertas, é muy ricas; é que habia plateros; é que las mugeres traian sartas de oro é los hombres cintos de oro, é que habia albarnios é obejas é vacas é perdices é carnicerías é herrería, é peso é medida; é que un Boca-negra, dixo á este testigo que se quedare." The other witnesses examined on the subject, — Pedro Nuñez, Francisco Serrano, Pero Sanchez, Francisco de Leyva, and Hernando de Sotomayor, — all testified in the same manner. The first one says: "que habia venido un fraile Francisco, que se dice Fray Marcos, que venia la tierra adentro," thus establishing the fact that it relates to the celebrated monk.

¹ *Carta de Fray Jerónimo Ximénez de San Esteban á Santo Tomás de Villanueva*, 9 October, 1539 (*Nueva Coleccion de Documentos para la Historia de México*, Garcia-Ycazbalceta, pp. 194, 195): "Este pasado mes de Setiembre hizo un año que partió un fraile de S. Francisco, francés de nación, desta ciudad

Such were the *popular* reports about Fray Marcos' discoveries. They find a parallel, a century and a half later, in some entries on the map to Thévenot's "Recueil de Voyages" of 1681. In the west, and on the great plains, the aforesaid map indicates that there are "nations who have horses and *camels*."¹ It is manifest that the American hunch-backed *bison* has given rise to this misinterpretation; but if it was pardonable to blunder in this way at a time when no white man except Cabeza de Vaca and his companions had ever seen the buffalo, and when Fray Marcos himself spoke of it only by hearsay, it was less pardonable in 1681, when both French and English had hunted the great quadruped beyond the Alleghanies. In regard to the other statements, it is plain that the turquoises of Fray Marcos easily became gems of much higher value in the eyes of an enthusiastic public. How an Indian pueblo may grow to the size of a European city, I believe to have shown.² The process is simple. It requires only want of reflection and lack of knowledge of the true conditions at a given time and place. But there is, in addition to this, another

de México en busca de una tierra de que los gobernadores destas partes han tenido noticia, y no la ha podido descubrir. Él anduvo quinientas leguas por tierra, y al cabo, pasado un desierto de más de sesenta leguas, dió en una tierra muy poblada y de gente de mucha policía, que tiene ciudades cercadas y grandes casas, y calzan zapatos y borcegues de cuero, y muchos visten ropas de seda hasta los pies. De la riqueza de la tierra no escribo, porque dice tanto que no parece creible; este me dijo el mismo fraile, que vió templo de sus idolos, que dentro y fuera tenia cubiertas las paredes de piedras preciosas; pienso me dijo esmeraldas. También dicen que en la tierra más adentro hay camellos y elefantes." The statement about the turquoises (amplified here into emeralds) is also found in Fray Marcos de Niza, *Des-*

cobrimiento de las siete Ciudades, p. 333: "Y por que me pareció digno de poner en este papel lo que este Indio, que Estéban me envió, dice la tierra, lo quiero hacer, el cual afirma y dice, . . . y en las portadas de las casas principales muchas labores de piedras turquesas." . . .

¹ "Nations qui ont des chevaux et des chameaux." See map to Father Marquette's journey in Thévenot, *Recueil de Voyages*, 1681.

² See chapter i., and my essay on *The Discovery of New Mexico by Fray Marcos of Nizza* (*Magazine of Western History*). Also, *La Découverte du Nouveau Mexique par le Frère Marcos, de Nice en Savoie, en 1539* (*Revue ethnographique*, Paris); *Cibola* (*N. Y. Staatszeitung*, Sunday Edition, 1885).

factor, which no one who has ever busied himself with the history of the Southwest has sufficiently considered, if it has ever attracted any attention at all. This factor is: the true cause of the expedition set on foot on the strength of Fray Marcos' statements. I refer to Coronado's expedition to New Mexico.

It is well known that the return of that expedition in 1542 aroused in the highest degree the anger of Don Antonio de Mendoza, the viceroy of New Spain. He wanted Coronado and his people to stay in New Mexico. The chief magistrate at Mexico was very much disappointed when the troupe came back.¹ This has been interpreted by Gomara and others, who were "outside of the ropes," as a deception, on account of the great expectations harbored in regard to wealth in New Mexico.² Certain documents of the period place it in an entirely different light.

About the time that Coronado was sallying forth, "banners flying and trumpets blowing," for the barely discovered North, a complaint was made against him on the ground that he was taking away the denizens of Mexico, and enticing them into joining his enterprise. The complaint appeared serious enough to induce the viceroy to instigate an official investigation of the case.³ It shows, in the first place,

¹ Thus Francisco Lopez de Gomara, *Historia de las Indias (Historiadores primitivos de Indias, Vedia i. p. 288)*: "Mucho pesó á don Antonio de Mendoza que se volviesen;" Fray Juan de Torquemada, *Monarchia indiana*, lib. v. cap. xi. p. 609; Antonio de Herrera, *Historia General de los hechos de los Castellanos*, dec. vi. lib. ix. cap. xii. p. 208, and many other authors.

² Gomara, *Historia*, p. 288: "... porque habia gastado mas de sesenta mil pesos de oro en la empresa, y aún debia muchos dellos, y no traian cosa ninguna de allá, ni muestra de plata ni de otra riqueza;" Castañeda, *Relation du Voyage de Cibola*, p. 227.

³ This is hinted at by Matias de Mota-Padilla, *Historia de Nueva Galicia*, cap. xxii. p. 111: "Determinó el virey lograr la ocasion de la mucha gente noble que habia en México; que como corecho sobre el agua reposado, se andaba sin tener qué hacer ni en qué ocuparse, todos atenidos á que el virey les hiciese algunas mercedes, y á que los vecinos de México les sustentasen á sus mesas, . . ." p. 169. "Fuése á México, en donde no fué bien recibido del virey, por haberse vuelto sin su orden." But the fact becomes transparent through the *Informacion del Virey de Nueva España, D. Antonio de Mendoza, de la gente que va á poblar la Nueva Galicia con Francisco Vazquez Coronado, Gober-*

that Mexico was then so poorly supplied with colonists, that any attempt to draw them towards another section of America was regarded as dangerous to the existence of the colony; hence, that that colony afforded but a trembling staff to European domination. On the other hand, it proves that even among the scanty population of Europeans there was a crowd ready to engage in anything, provided it was new and striking. In other words, circumstances then were just as they have been in the Southwest but lately. As soon as anything new is discovered, everybody rushes for it. With such a class of men, reports like those of Fray Marcos fell on fertile soil.

The viceroy encouraged Coronado's expedition by all possible means. His main object was to eliminate from Mexico elements unfavorable to a steady progress of the country. He was afraid that if a leaven of a certain kind was left it would produce a fermentation detrimental to the interests of Spain and of civilization in general; for it should not be forgotten that Spain cherished then the same exalted ideas about its duties as the banner-bearer of progress as every other nation, including the American, has since.

Don Antonio de Mendoza was not blind to the ultimate results of

nador de ella (*Doc. de Indias*, vol. xiv.), in which Coronado makes a formal complaint to the effect that "algunas personas por no tener buena voluntad desta hornada, . . . han dicho, que muchos vecinos de la ciudad de México é de las demas ciudades . . . por ruego é inducimiento mio, van en la dicha hornada; de cuya causa la dicha ciudad de México é de Nueva España, queda sola é con poca gente," p. 374. He prays for an investigation. Consequently a review of the whole corps was held at Compostela on the 21st of February, 1540, at which review nine persons were appointed to inspect and identify the men who were to take part in the expedition. These inspectors were afterwards examined under oath, and they unani-

mously declared that there were only very few *residents* of Mexico. To the ominous query: "*si hacen falta los que van,*" Antonio Serrano de Cardona replies, p. 378: "que antes facen provecho en ir, que daño . . .;" Gonzalo de Salazar: "aunque uno de los mayores bienes que se han hecho en esta Nueva España, fue sacar la gente moza e viciosa que estaba en la dicha ciudad é en toda la Nueva España," p. 379; Pedro Almides Cherino: "é que al parecer deste testigo, háse sido cosa muy provechosa que saliese de México la gente que fué, que antes dañaban en la ciudad é vecinos della, que aprovechaban por ser los más caballeros mancebos é viciosos, sin tener que hacer, etc., etc.," p. 380.

overreaching, and the startling information secured by Fray Marcos and its effects upon the mind of the public did not escape his notice. He secretly caused an agitation in favor of the "newly discovered country," in order to get rid of people who were a nuisance in New Spain, and with the faintest of all hopes that they might, perhaps, prosper in the far distant North.¹

Whatever popular reports may tell us of the verbal statements of Fray Marcos, they do not impair the scientific value of his "Relation," which remains a true and reliable picture of sights seen and tales heard, and it possesses the great advantage over many reports of the present time, that it indicates honestly "such and such a thing I saw, and such and such a thing I have only *heard*."

It is no wonder, therefore, if Coronado in his expedition, which commenced in the early part of the year 1540, took Fray Marcos for a guide, and if the monk conducted him safely and surely to Zuñi, as to a place where he had been the year before, and where the Spaniards were to judge for themselves of the truth or untruth of his reports. Had Fray Marcos not felt innocent of the accusations that were afterwards heaped upon him, he would certainly not have gone along and shown Coronado the way.

¹ It is not the only instance in the life of this great administrator, Don Antonio de Mendoza, when he purified the province which he governed by sending off, on a "wild goose chase," the unruly and dangerous elements. While viceroy of Peru, he set on foot, and in the same manner, the brainless enterprise in search of the "Dorado," under command of the unfortunate Pedro de Ursua, in 1560. *Relacion breve fecha por Pedro de Monguia, Capitan que fue de Lope de Aguirre, de lo mas sustancial que ha acontecido, segun lo que se me acuerda, de la Jornada del Gobernador Pedro de Orsua, etc., etc.* (*Doc. de Indias*, vol. iv. p. 191): "Á

nueve dias del mes de Julio de 1560, salió Pedro de Orsua de los Motilones, que es en la provincia del Perú;" *Relacion muy verdadera de todo lo sucedido en el Rio del Marañon, en la provincia del Dorado, hecha por el Gobernador Pedro de Orsua, etc.* (*Idem*, p. 217): "De entonces acá nadie se habia atreuido á pedir la dicha entrada, por ser cosa de tan gran gasto y costa, hasta que Pedro de Orsua la pidió al Marqués de Cañete, y se la dió, no teniendo mas de una capa y una espada, y le ayudó de la casa de S. M. con quince mill pesos para ello, por dar remedio á muchos caballeros é hijosdalgo que en Pirú andaban perdidos."

After these introductory remarks about the much criticised monk, I shall turn to the Expedition of Coronado, and consider the information it affords us in regard to the Indians of Zuñi.

It is well known that Coronado, having established his headquarters at Culiacan, in Sinaloa, left there the bulk of his army, and started in advance in search of Cibola, Fray Marcos acting as his guide. He took with him, according to Castañeda, "fifty horsemen, a few men on foot, and his best friends."¹ Jaramillo, who was one of the number, says that there were sixty horsemen.² An anonymous reporter, whose statements appear very precise, asserts that Coronado was accompanied by "only seventy-five companions on horseback, and thirty footmen (peones)."³ Another anonymous relation, also written at the time, and while in New Mexico, gives the number at "eighty horse and twenty-five on foot."⁴ Both of the latter statements nearly agree, and they are made by eye-witnesses, on the very ground, and at the very time, whereas Castañeda and Jaramillo, although members of the expedition, wrote from recollection, the former more than twenty years, the latter, perhaps, a still longer time afterwards.⁵ It is therefore most

¹ *Relation du Voyage de Cibola*, p. 35: "Au bout de quinze jours le général prit les devants avec cinquante cavaliers, quelques fantassins et ses meilleurs amis."

² *Relacion hecha por el capitan Juan Jaramillo, de la Jornada que habia hecha á la Tierra nueva en Nueva España y al Descubrimiento de Cibola* (*Doc. de Indias*, vol. xiv. p. 304): "Á esta villa se vuelve y va como al Norueste de aqui los sesenta de á caballo que fuimos con el General, . . . Dejó su ejército y fué él con los dichos en descubrimiento del dicho camino."

³ *Traslado de las Nuevas y Noticias que dieron sobre el Descubrimiento de una cibdad, que llamaron Cibola, situada en la Tierra Nueva* (*Idem*, xix. p. 529). "En

el Valle de Culiacan déxo S. Md. la mayor parte del exercito, y con solamente setenta y cinco compañeros de á caballo y treinta peones, partió para aca."

⁴ *Relacion del Suceso de la Jornada que Francisco Vazquez hizo en el Descubrimiento de Cibola* (*Idem*, xiv. p. 318): "Francisco Vazquez debidió é partió el campo, el cual tomó ochenta de á caballo é veinte cinco peones, y cierta parte de la artillería, é partió," etc.

⁵ *Voyage de Cibola* (Introd. p. ix.): "Comme il y a plus de vingt ans que cette expédition s'est faite;" Jaramillo, *Relacion hecha*, p. 307: "y esto digo por haber tanto tiempo que aquello pasamos, que podria ser engañarme en alguna jornada, que en lo demas no."

likely that Coronado made his first move upon Cibola, or Zuñi, with one hundred men.

He left Culiacan on the 22d of April, old style (2d of May), of the year A. D. 1540.¹ The route which he took I have already discussed, and have nothing new to add, or any corrections to make. The whole trip lasted seventy-seven days, so that he came in sight of the first pueblo of Cibola on the 7th of July (17th).² Which one of the seven villages was it?

Castañeda says that Cibola, or rather the first village thereof, was eight leagues from the banks of the "Rio Vermejo,"³ so called on account of its red and muddy waters. The Rio Vermejo is the little Colorado, and eight leagues correspond to twenty-two English miles. The first village of the Zuñis reached by the Spaniards under Coronado cannot, therefore, have been "Quia-Quima," where the negro Estevan was killed, but it was "Ha-ui-cu," near the thermal springs, or "Agua calientes de Zuñi." This is further proven by a statement of the anonymous writer of 1540: "on the XIX of the past month of July he went four leagues from the city to see a rock, where he had been told that the Indians used to fortify themselves."⁴ This rock is evi-

¹ *Traslado de las Nuevas y Noticias*, p. 529: "partió para aca jueves 22 de Abril;" Castañeda, *Cibola*, p. 30, says that they arrived at Culiacan the day after Easter; and p. 35: "au bout de quinze jours le général prit les devants."

² *Traslado*, p. 530: "Llego á esta provincia miercoles 7. deste mes de Julio pasado . . . por manera que tardo S. M. en el camino, hasta llegar aqui, setenta y siete dias." The author of *Relacion del Suceso*, p. 319, says: "á los setenta y tres llegamos á Cibola." But I follow the former, since his dates are positive, and they agree with the number of days.

³ *Cibola*, p. 41: "Au bout de quinze jours ils arrivèrent à huit lieues de Cibola, sur les bords d'une rivière qu'ils nommè-

ent Rio Vermejo, à cause de son eau trouble et rouge;" Jaramillo, *Relacion hecha*, p. 307, says that the "arroyo que pusimos Bermejo" was two days from the first pueblo of Cibola: "de aqui fuimos en dos dias de camino al dicho pueblo y primero de Cibola." From the little Colorado below San Juan, the distance to "Hauicu" in a straight line is not over thirty miles. Coronado went from Show-low east of north, therefore he struck the "Rio Vermejo" above the mouth of the "Rio de Zuñi." Following the road, Hauicu is about thirty-five miles from San Juan.

⁴ *Traslado*, p. 532: "y que á XIX del mes de Julio pasado, fue quatro leguas de esta ciudad á un peñol, donde le dixeron que los Yndios desta provincia se hacian

dently the famous mesa of "To-yo-al-ana," or thunder-mountain, and the distance given agrees well with the bee-line stretch extending from Haicu to the gigantic table-mountain. It is therefore Haicu, and not the village where Estevan was killed, which received the first attack of the strangers. That Jaramillo should say: "It is in this place that Estevanillo, the negro, was killed,"¹ must not surprise us, since he wrote, as I have already said, many years after the occurrences.

When the Spaniards arrived upon the banks of the little Colorado, they met the first Zuñi Indians. The latter fled at once, and gave the alarm. On the night before reaching the place, the Spaniards had already been frightened by the yells and shouts of the natives, who crept up to the camp and aroused the soldiers by their piercing cries.² As soon as the pueblo was in sight, the Spaniards knew that their reception would be anything but friendly.

They had advanced to within a short distance, when a great number of the warriors were discovered scattered outside the village to the distance of a cross-bow shot of its walls. It was found out afterwards that all the non-combatants had been removed to other pueblos, and that the men alone remained.³ It does not seem that the six other

fuertes, — y volvió el mismo día, que andubo en ida y venida ocho leguas." If it had been "Quiaquima," he would have been at the very foot of the mesa. That "To-yo-al-ana" was the place of refuge for the Zuñis in case of extreme danger, we shall prove in the third chapter.

¹ *Relacion hecha*, p. 308: "y aquí mataron á Etebanillo el negro."

² Castañeda, *Cibola*, p. 41: "Ce fut là qu'on aperçut les premiers Indiens du pays; ils prirent la fuite en voyant les Espagnols, et allèrent donner l'alarme. Le lendemain, pendant la nuit, lorsqu'on n'était plus qu'à deux lieues du village, des Indiens, qui s'étaient placés dans un endroit sûr, jetèrent des cris si perçants que nos soldats en furent un peu effrayés, quoi

qu'ils s'y attendissent; il y en eut même qui sellèrent leurs chevaux à l'envers, mais c'étaient des gens de nouvelle levée. Les plus aguerris montèrent à cheval et parcoururent la campagne. Les Indiens qui connaissaient le pays s'échappèrent facilement, et l'on n'en put prendre aucun. Le lendemain on entra en bon ordre dans le pays habité." Jaramillo, *Relacion hecha*, p. 307, merely says: "Aquí vimos un Indio ó dos que parecieron ser despues de la primera poblacion de Cibola."

³ *Traslado*, p. 531: "Estaba la ciudad des poblada de hombres de sesenta años arriba y de veinte abaxo, y de mugeres y niños; todo lo que habia, era, hombres de guerra que quedaron para defender la ciudad, y muchos salieron della, obra de un

pueblos of Zuñi furnished material aid to the Haicu people.¹ They treated the whole matter as if it had not been "their own fight," and left their neighbors to face the newcomers. This is truly Indian, and very characteristic of the nature of Indian society.

The disproportion in numbers does not appear to have been unusually great. Castañeda attributes to Haicu two hundred warriors.² The three anonymous relations state that the largest Zuñi villages contained from two to three hundred families.³ One village alone could not, therefore, oppose to Coronado more than twice the number of his own men, and if, in addition, they committed the imprudence

tiro de ballesta, haciendo grandes fieros ;" *Relacion del Suceso*, p. 319: "El día que llegamos al primer pueblo, nos salieron de guerra parte dellos, é los demás quedaban en el pueblo fortalecidos ;" Castañeda, *Cibola*, p. 42: "Ces Indiens nous attendaient donc en bon ordre à quelque distance du village ;" Matias de Mota-Padilla, *Historia de Nueva Galicia*, p. 113: "Antes de llegar el general, salieron mas de doscientos Indios de guerra, y aunque se les requirió con la paz."

¹ Castañeda, *Cibola*, p. 42, says: "Les habitants de la province s'y étaient réunis ;" but *Relacion del Suceso*, p. 319: "Luego que los Indios se dieron, desampararon el pueblo y se fueron á los otros pueblos ;" *Traslado*, p. 532: "porque como los Yndios vieron la determinacion de S. Md en quererles entrar la ciudad, luego la desmampararon." The sudden appearance of Coronado was a surprise to them, and all they could do was to send off the women, children, and old men, and prepare for a hasty defense. There may have been a few warriors from the other pueblos also, but not in any great numbers. The time was too short to make a general levy.

² *Cibola*, p. 42: "Cibola, . . . il peut contenir deux cents guerriers." As to the Spaniards, their number had only decreased by one foot-soldier and a few Indians and negroes. *Traslado*, p. 530: "Llegó . . . con toda la gente que sacó del valle, muy bueno . . . escepto un Español que murió de hambre cuatro jornadas de aquí, y algunos Negros é Yndios que tambien murieron de hambre y de sed ; el Español era de los de pié, y llamavase Espinosa ;" *Relacion del Suceso*, p. 319, only speaks of the "muerte de algunos Indios ;" Jaramillo, *Relacion hecha*, p. 307, says the death of Espinosa and two men occurred near Show-low: "y en este arroyo y puesto, murió un Español que se decia Espinosa, y otras dos personas, de yerbas que comieron, por la grande necesidad que llevaban." This would indicate that they ate poisonous plants out of hunger.

³ *Relacion del Suceso*, p. 319: "Los pueblos son de á trescientas é doscientas, é de á cincuenta casas ;" *Relacion pos-trera de Sivola* [MS.]: "Sivola es un pueblo de hasta ducientas casas . . . son siete pueblos en esta provincia Sivola . . . el mayor sera de ducientas casas."

of facing cavalry in the open field defeat was inevitable. Coronado, as soon as he grasped the situation, rode towards the Indians, accompanied only by two of the priests (Fray Marcos, probably, and certainly the lay-brother, Fray Luis Descalona), and made the customary attempt at conciliation and peace.¹ To this he was compelled by Spanish law,² and a refusal to comply with a requisition of this kind, and to receive the Spaniards peaceably, was considered equivalent to a refusal, in England, to listen to the reading of the Riot Act. The country had been taken possession of legally (after the customs of the time) by Fray Marcos; if now the people of Hauicu remained hostile in the presence of a legal summons to surrender, it was the duty of Coronado to proceed against them by force.³

A shower of arrows, defiant shouts and yells, and other threatening demonstrations, were the only reply of the Hauicu Indians. A horse was wounded by an arrow-shot, and the cassock of Fray Luis touched by another.⁴ It was clear that all efforts at negotiation would be vain. Although the Spaniards, as well as their animals, were worn out by the long and tedious journey,⁵ they promptly obeyed the order to charge,

¹ Castañeda, *Cibola*, p. 42: "Loin d'accepter la paix, quand ils en furent requis par les interprètes, ils nous firent des gestes menaçants;" *Relacion del Suceso*, p. 319: "con los cuales no se pudo acabar aunque se procuró arto la paz;" *Traslado*, p. 531: "y el General mismo se adelantó con dos religiosos, y el Maestre de Campo, á requerirlos, como se usa en tierras nuevas;" Mota-Padilla: *Historia*, p. 113: "y aunque se les requirió con la paz, hacian rayas en el suelo para que no pasasen de ellas."

² There are two decrees of Charles V. to that effect, one of June 26, 1526, and another of the 20th of November, 1528, both of which are embodied in the *Recopilacion de Leyes de los Reynos de las Indias*, lib. iii. tit. iv. ley ix. fol. 25

³ Fray Marcos, as we have already stated in the first chapter, had taken possession; acting according to instructions from the viceroy.

⁴ Mota-Padilla, *Historia*, p. 113: "hacian rayas en el suelo para que no pasasen dellas, y al intentarlo los nuestros, despidieron una rociada de flechas;" *Traslado*, p. 531: "y la respuesta que le daban, era muchas flechas que soltaban; y hirieron á Hernando Bermejo su caballo; y al Padre Frai Luis, compañero que era del Señor Obispo de Mexico, le cogieron las faldas de los habitos con una flecha."

⁵ *Idem*, p. 530: "no fue recibido como lo hubiera menester, la gente que traia, porque todos venian muy fatigados del gran trabajo del camino; luego, y de cargar y descargar como unos arrieros, y de

and ere the Indians could take shelter inside of the houses, several of them were killed. On the Spanish side no man appears to have been hurt, but three horses were killed, and seven or eight wounded.¹ Thus ended, as might have been foreseen, the first encounter of Zuñi Indians with white men.

But the fight was not over. Routed easily in the open field, the natives had only improved their position, for the moment at least, by retreating into the many-storied houses, where they replied to any attack by a flight of arrows, and especially by a shower of stones hurled from the flat roofs. Still, Hauicu had to be taken; by persuasion if possible, by assault if necessary.² It seems that no further summons were made to surrender, and that the onslaught on the pueblo followed immediately upon the skirmish. The Spaniards were famished; they had not found a single grain of corn on the whole trip, from the Rio San Pedro into New Mexico.³ If Hauicu was not taken

no comer tanto como quisieran, que traian mas necesidad de descansar algunos dias, y no de pellear, aunque no habia en todo el campo, hombre, que para todo no tragese buenas ganas, si los caballos los ayudaran; que traian la misma necesidad que los amos." As to the number of Indians killed, see below.

¹ I give the different Spanish versions. *Traslado*, p. 531: "y como esto visto, tomando por abogado al Señor Santiago, arremetió á ellos con toda su gente, que la tenia muy bien hordenada; y aunque los Yndios volvieron las espaldas y se pensaban acoger á la ciudad, que estaban cerca della, antes que llegasen, fueron alcanzados y muertos muchos dellos; y ellos mataron tres caballos, y hirieron siete ó ocho;" *Relacion del Suceso*, p. 319: "por lo cual fué forzoso rompellos é muertos algunos dellos. Los demas luego se retragieron al pueblo;" Castañeda, *Cibola*, p. 42: "On

les chargea au cri de Sant-Iago, et on les mit promptement en fuite;" Mota-Padilla, *Historia*, p. 113: "con lo que se les acometió, y quedando en el campo muertos mas de veinte, se encastillaron en sus barrios."

² *Traslado*, p. 531: "Llegado el General, mi Señor, á la ciudad, vió que toda era cercada de piedra á casamuro, y las casas muy altos, de cuatro y cinco y aun de seis altos cada una, con sus azoteas y corredores; y como los Yndios se hicieron fuertes en ella, y no dejasen llegar á la cerca á hombre que no flechasen;" Castañeda, *Cibola*, p. 43: "Cependant il fallait s'emparer de Cibola."

³ *Traslado (ut supra)*: "y no tubiesemos que comer sino se lo tomabamos;" *Idem*, p. 530: "y en todo el camino hasta esta provincia no se hallo un celemin de mais;" *Relacion del Suceso*, p. 319: "no hubo maiz en todo el camino sino fu éste valle de Señora que sacaron un poco."

they were lost, both horses and men.¹ So the pueblo was attacked forthwith.

Castañeda says, "Cibola is built on the top of a rock." So is Hauicu. That pueblo belonged, in a measure, to the type called polygonal. The slope is gradual towards the south and southeast; more abrupt on the other sides. The ascent is steep in only a few places, and the eminence crowned by the houses is not higher above the immediate soil of the valley than fifty feet. Still, as the slope towards the southeast has a length of four hundred feet, and not the slightest protection is afforded, whereas the Indians, from the roofs of houses several stories high, commanded the entire ascent, and that ascent, furthermore, had to be made on foot, it was not an easy undertaking. Coronado led the storming party in person. He wore armor which was richly decorated, which made him a conspicuous mark for the enemy.² The Hauicus had covered the terraced roofs with heaps of pebbles, and the hail of these missiles was directed against his person in particular. One stone hit him with such force that he fell, and would have been killed by the rocks that the Indians kept showering upon his prostrate form, had it not been for the timely interference of several of his men. A second time was he stunned, felled, and injured; he was also wounded by an arrowshot.³ In spite of this lively resistance, the Spaniards penetrated the pueblo about an hour after the assault had

¹ See note preceding.

² *Traslado*, p. 531: "y como entre todos yra señalado con sus armas doradas y un plumage en la armadura de cabeza, todos los Yndios tiraban á el, como á hombre señalado entre todos." He led the attack on foot, while mounted men surrounded the village to prevent the escape of the Indians: "acordó S. Md entrar la Ciudad á pie y cercarla de gente de á caballo, por que no se fuese Yndio de los que dentro estaban."

³ *Idem*, p. 532: "y de las azoteas, á piedra perdida, lo derribaron en el suelo

dos veces, y lo abollaron la armadura de la cabeza, que á no ser tan buena, dudo que saliera vivo de donde entró; y con todo esto, pongo á Nuestro Señor que salió por sus piés, dieronle en la cabeza y hombros y piernas muchos golpes de piedra, y en el rostro saco dos heridas pequeñas, y en el pié derecho un flechazo;" *Relacion del Suceso*, p. 319: "Francisco Vazquez salió mal tratado de algunas piedras, y aun tengo por cierto, quedaría allí sino fuera por el maestre de campo D. Garcilopez de Cárdenas que le socorrió;" Castañeda, *Cibola*, p. 43: "Le Général fut

begun, and the Indians, throwing down their arms, surrendered.¹ On both sides the losses must have been slight. Of the Spaniards, no one was killed, though some may have been seriously injured. The Indians, on the other hand, fought under protection, and gave up the fight as soon as the enemy came up to closer quarters.² It was probably much less bloody than the short running fight in the valley below the pueblo.

Haucicu was filled with corn.³ It appears that the Indians expected to successfully resist the strangers, and even to inflict upon them a decisive defeat. The stores had not been removed, not that they anticipated a siege or a long blockade, but simply because they had no time for it, and, probably, did not deem it worth while. But although the men threw down their arms and made peace with Coronado, they left the pueblo on the same day and joined their families among the other villages of the Zuñi group. This was done not so much out of mistrust of their conquerors, as in consequence of the previous removal of the non-combatants. Coronado consented to this proceeding for two reasons: first, because it placed the whole village at his disposal,

renversé d'un coup de pierre en montant à l'assaut; et il aurait été tué sans Garcilopez de Cardenas et Hernando d'Alvarado, qui se jetèrent devant lui et reçurent les pierres qui n'étaient pas en petit nombre."

¹ Castañeda, *Cibola*, p. 43: "mais, comme il est impossible de résister à la première furie des Espagnols, en moins d'une heure le village fut enlevé." There is another version, by Mota-Padilla, *Historia*, p. 113: "y luego aquella noche se pusieron en fuga; el día siguiente se posesionaron los nuestros de la casería." But the village was surrounded, and the *Relacion del Suceso*, p. 319, says: "y aquella tarde se dieron." The same document also speaks of artillery which Coronado had taken along ["y cierta parte de la

artillería"] and which, after the first assault of the pueblo had been repulsed, caused the Indians to surrender: "é á causa del mucho daño que nos hacian de las azoteas nos fué forzado retirarnos, y de fuera se los comenzó hazer daño con la artillería y arcabucos."

² *Traslado*, p. 532: "porque como los Yndios vieron la determinacion de S. Md en quererles entrar la Ciudad, luego la desmampararan."

³ *Traslado*, p. 532: "hallamos en ella lo que mas que oro ni plata abiamos menester que es mucho maiz, y frisoles, y gallinas, mayores que las desta Nueva España, y sal, la mejor y mas blanca que he visto en toda mi vida;" Castañeda, *Cibola*, p. 43: "on le trouva rempli de vivres, dont on avait le plus grand besoin."

together with the provisions it contained, and, secondly, because it facilitated his intercourse with the remainder of the tribe, and gave him a foothold among them.¹

The capture of Hauicu on the 17th of July, 1540, was the only engagement fought between the Zuñis and Coronado's troops. Thereafter both parties dwelt side by side in perfect peace until the winter months of the same year, and so long as Coronado and his people remained in New Mexico there was never any interruption of the cordial feelings, in as far as cordiality may reign between peoples who could not converse with each other, and whose notions and beliefs were so widely apart. Difficulties undoubtedly arose from time to time, but they brought about no conflict, occasioned no bloodshed.

All the sources agree in placing the number of pueblos composing the cluster of Cibola at *seven*. Of these, Fray Marcos made us acquainted with one, Quiaquima, at the foot of the great mesa, where the negro Estevan was killed. Through Castañeda's account we learn of another, Ha-ui-cu, at the Zuñi Hot Springs. Of the remaining five only one is mentioned by name. This is Ma-tza-qui, the Ma-ça-que of Castañeda's original manuscript,² which is corrupted into Muzaque in the superficial translation of Ternaux-Compans.³ Matzaqui is situated near the Rio de Zuñi, in the corner of the plain on which the present village is standing. It is consequently the most northeasterly pueblo of the seven, and distant from Hauicu (which is the most southwesterly), in a straight line, about fifteen miles.

We have seen what Fray Marcos says of Quiaquima, and how reliable is his description of its situation and its appearance in general. The chroniclers of Coronado's expedition furnish a great many details in regard to the villages of Cibola in general, and to some of them in particular. The picture they present of the cluster of Zuñi pueblos as they were in 1540 is worth recording here.

Beginning with Castañeda, who is the best known, though not

¹ *Traslado*, p. 232: "et bientôt toute la province fut forcée d'accepter la paix." New York, and the word is found on fol. 107, recto.

² The original is at the Lenox Library,

³ *Cibola*, p. 163.

always the most reliable of these writers, I quote the following passages : —

“The province of Cibola contains seven villages, the largest of which is called Muzaque. The houses of the country have commonly three or four stories, but at Muzaque there are some which have as many as seven stories.”¹ He estimates the number of people in the pueblos of Zuñi and Moqui, together, at three to four thousand.²

Jaramillo speaks of five pueblos only at Cibola, “which are at one league’s distance from each other in a circuit of six leagues.”³

The anonymous relation of the events of Coronado’s expedition says :

“The Father Fray Marcos had understood that the district or region in which there are seven pueblos was one single village which he named Cibola ; but the whole settlement and surroundings bear that name. The pueblos contain, some three hundred, some two hundred, and some one hundred and fifty houses. In some of them the houses are joined together ; in others they are divided into two or three sections. But in most instances they are connected and have courts inside, in which are estufas for winter use. Outside of the pueblos they have others for the summer.”⁴

The “Relation of Sivola” preserved by Father Motolinia says : —

¹ *Cibola*, p. 163 : “La province de Cibola contient sept villages ; le plus grand se nomme Muzaque ; les maisons du pays ont ordinairement trois ou quatre étages ; mais à Muzaque, il y’en a qui en ont sept.”

² *Idem*, p. 165 : “On compte trois ou quatre mille hommes répandus dans les quatorze villages de ces deux provinces.”

³ *Relacion hecha*, p. 308 : “Hay en esta provincia de Cibola, cinco pueblezuelos con este, todos de azoteas y piedra y barro como digo : . . . están estos pueblos apartados el uno del otro como á legua y á mas, que vendrán á ser como en circuito de seis leguas.”

⁴ *Relacion del Suceso*, p. 319 : “El padre fray Marcos habia entendido ó dio

á entender que el circuito é comarca en que están siete pueblos, era un solo pueblo que llamaba él, é toda esta poblazon é comarca se llama Cibola. Los pueblos son de á trescientas é doscientas, é de á cien cincuenta casas ; algunos están las casas de los pueblos todas juntas, aunque en algunos pueblos están partidos en dos ó tres barrios ; pero por la mayor parte son juntos y dentro sus patios, y en ellos sus estufas de invierno, é fuera de los pueblos, las tienen de verano.” These winter and summer estufas recall the ancient division of the Tehua Indians into winter-people [“Oyi-que”] and summer-people [“Payoque”], the yellow winter-sun and the green summer-altars, etc., etc.

"There are in this province of Sivola seven pueblos within five leagues. The largest one may have two hundred houses; two more have two hundred; the others, sixty, fifty, and thirty houses."¹

Matias de la Mota-Padilla was not a contemporary of the expedition of Coronado, since his "History of New Galicia" was written about 1742; still he had consulted materials left evidently by writers who took part in the enterprise. His statements, therefore, deserve almost the same degree of attention, at least, — though not of absolute credit, — as the contemporary chroniclers themselves.

According to him, Hauicu was divided into two quarters, and there were six other villages of the same description.²

Francisco Lopez de Gomara was a contemporary, though not an eyewitness; and he derives his information from contemporary sources: —

"Sibola contains as many as two hundred houses of sod and unhewn timber, of four or five stories, with doors like the scuttles of a ship. They ascend to them by ladders made of wood, which they raise at night and in time of war. . . . The famous seven cities of fray Marcos of Niza, which are within a circle of six leagues, may contain over four thousand men."³

I hope to have made it plain, that the Cibola of Coronado's time is not the same village as the one which Fray Marcos saw the year before; that the former is "Hauicu" and the latter "Quiaquima." But the two villages pertained to one and the same tribe, and were within a half day's journey of each other. Of Quiaquima no further descrip-

¹ *Relacion postrera* [MS.]: "son siete pueblos en esta provincia de Sivola, en espacio de cinco leguas: el mayor será de ducientas casas y otros dos dos [sic] de á ducientas, y los otros á sesenta y á cincuenta y á treinta casas."

² *Historia de Nueva Galicia*, pp. 113, 114. He consulted papers left at Culiacan by Pedro de Tobar, p. 168, and other sources of the time which he does not name; but from some of the data given by him, I presume that he must have had

at his command manuscripts kept at Guadalajara in the last century.

³ *Historia de las Indias*, p. 287: "Es Sibola de hasta ducientas casas de tierra y madera tosca; altas cuatro y cinco sobrados, y las puertas como escotillones de nao. Suben á ellas con escaleras de palo, que quitan de noche y en tiempos de guerra. . . . Los famosas siete ciudades de fray Marcos de Niza, qui están en espacio de seis leguas, tendrán obra de cuatro mil hombres."

tion from that period has yet been discovered ; of Hauicu there are several.

Beginning again with Castañeda : —

“ Cibola is built on a rock, and it is so inconsiderable, that many haciendas of New Spain have a better appearance. It can contain two hundred warriors. The houses have three or four stories ; they are small, not spacious, and have no courts. One single court serves for a whole quarter.”¹

The anonymous report on the capture of Hauicu, so frequently mentioned, says : —

“ When the General, my Lord, reached the city, he found that everything was surrounded by stone walls, and that the houses were very high, of four, five, and even six stories each, with terraces and porches. . . .”²

Mota-Padilla, who derives his materials probably from writings left by Tovar : —

“ They arrived at Tzibola, which is a village divided into two quarters, surrounded by a wall in such a manner as to make the pueblo circular. The houses are connected, of three and four stories, with doors opening upon a great court or square, leaving in the wall one or two gates to go out by. In the centre of the square was a trap-door or scuttle by which a subterranean hall was reached, whose roof was made of large timbers of pine wood, on its floor there was a small fireplace, the walls were whitewashed. . . .”³

¹ *Cibola*, p. 42 : “ Cibola est construit sur un rocher : ce village est si peu considérable, qu’il y a des fermes dans la nouvelle Espagne qui ont meilleure apparence. Il peut contenir deux cents guerriers. Les maisons ont trois ou quatre étages ; elles sont petites, peu spacieuses et n’ont pas de cour ; une seule cour sert à tout un quartier.” The eminence on which Hauicu stands is indeed a rock, although not a high one.

² *Traslado*, p. 531 : “ Llegado el General, mi Señor, á la ciudad, vió que toda era cercada de piedra á casamuro, y las casas muy altas, de cuatro y cinco y aun de seis altos cada una, con sus azoteas y corredores.”

³ *Historia*, p. 113 : “ Llegaron á Tzibola, que era un pueblo dividido en dos barrios, que estaban cercados de manera que hacian al pueblo redondo, y las casas unidas de tres y cuatro altos, cuyas puertas

There is also a description of Matzaqui furnished by Castañeda. It would seem that he went with the main body of Coronado's troops, when that body left Zuñi for the Rio Grande, in the latter part of the year 1540. He relates as follows:—

“The first day they went to a village which was the handsomest, the best, and the largest of the whole province. Houses were seen in it seven stories high, such as are not found elsewhere. They belong to private individuals and are used as forts; they rise so high above the others that they appear like towers. There are embrasures and loopholes to shoot through with arrows and thus defend the place. As these villages have no streets, and the roofs are all on a level and common to all the inhabitants, these large houses which serve for defense must first be taken. Here it began to snow, and our soldiers took refuge under the porches of the village, which project like balconies and are supported by wooden pillars; wooden ladders ascending to them lead to the entrances to the buildings, for there are no doors below.”¹

caían á un grande patio ó plaza, dejando en el muro una ó dos puertas para entrar y salir; en medio de la plaza habia una portañuela ó escotillon por donde se bajaba á una subterránea sala, cuya techumbre era de grandes vigas de pino, y en el suelo un pequeño fogon, y las paredes encaladas; allí se estaban los Indios dias y noches jugando, y las mujeres les llevaban de comer, y esta era la vida de los Indios de los pueblos comarcanos.”

¹ *Cibola*, p. 80: “Le premier jour ils allèrent loger dans un village, le plus beau, le meilleur et le plus grand de la province. On y trouva des maisons de sept étages, ce que l'on ne voit que là, elles appartiennent à des particuliers, et servent de forteresse. Elles s'élèvent tellement au-dessus des autres, qu'elles ont l'air de tours. Il y a des embrasures et

des meurtrières pour lancer des flèches et défendre la place. Comme ces villages n'ont pas de rues, que tous les toits sont de niveau, et communs à tous les habitants, il faut d'abord s'emparer de ces grandes maisons qui servent de défense. Dans cet endroit il commença à neiger, et nos soldats se réfugièrent sous les auvents [“alaves”] du village, qui s'avancent comme des balcons, soutenus par des piliers en bois: on y monte par des escaliers extérieurs; c'est là l'entrée des maisons, car il n'y a pas de portes dans le bas.” The distance from “Hauicu” to “Matzaqui” is just one day's march for a body of several hundred men slowly marching, and “Matzaqui” was indeed the last village on the plain on the road to Acoma.

Lastly, we have an instructive, though short, description of the trail from the Zuñi basin to Acoma. It is due to Hernando de Alvarado and Fray Juan de Padilla, when they traveled to Pecos ["Cicuic"], in the fall of the same year.

"We left Granada on Sunday the day of the beheading of St. John, twenty-ninth of August, 1540, on the road to Coco [Acuco or Acoma], and after having gone two leagues, we struck an ancient edifice similar to a fortress; a league farther on we met another, and afterwards another; then we came to an ancient city, very large, all in ruins, although a great portion of the wall was still standing, which may have been thirty-six feet in height; the wall was well built, of well-worked stones, with gates and ditches like a city of Castile. Half a league farther on we found the ruins of another city, the wall of which must have been very good, being built to the height of six feet of very large granitic stones, above which there was very good masonry. Here the road divides; one goes to Chia, and the other to Coco; we took the latter."¹

The trail which Alvarado followed passes, from Hauicu, south of the Zuñi plain, and the pueblo ruins mentioned are those of the cluster called "Ma-tya-ta" or "Ma-kya-ta," the Marata of Fray Marcos of Nizza. They had been abandoned by the Zuñi Indians *before the arrival of the Spaniards*, and before the Zuñis had heard of the white men.

The seven pueblos of Cibola-Zuñi stood, therefore, with the excep-

¹ *Relacion de lo que Hernando de Alvarado y Fray Joan de Padilla descubrieron en demanda de la mar del Sur, 1540* [Doc. de Indias, 3, p. 511]: "Partimos de Granada, domingo dia de San Juan de collatione veinte y nueve de Agosto de 40; la via de Coco, y andadas dos leguas, dimos en un edificio antiguo como fortaleza, y una legua adelante hallamos otro, y poco mas adelante otro, y adelante destos hallamos una ciudad antigua, harto grande, toda destruida, aunque mucha parte de la

muralla estaba enhiesta, la cual tenia seis estados en alto, el muro bien labrado de buena piedra labrada, de sus puertas y alvañares como una ciudad de Castilla. Media legua adelante desta obra de una legua, hallamos otra ciudad destruida, la cerca de la cual debia ser muy buena, hasta un estado, de piedras berroqueñas muy grandes, y de allí arriba de muy buena piedra de cantería. Aquí se apartan dos caminos, uno para Chia y otro para Coco; tomamos este. . . ."

tion of Hauicu, on the plain of Zuñi proper. We have identified three of them already; the four others will be found farther on, when we come to examine the documents concerning the definitive annexation of New Mexico by Juan de Oñate in 1598.

Detailed and reliable information respecting the numbers of the population of the seven villages of Cibola-Zuñi can hardly be expected in the documents of the time of Coronado. Castañeda estimates the number of "men" of the whole Zuñi tribe and of the Moquis together at from three to four thousand.¹ This might be so construed as to indicate a total number of souls of about twelve thousand, of which one half can be ascribed to Zuñi alone. But the term men [Hombres] refers certainly not to the able-bodied males alone, but to the whole population all told. This can be deduced from the following passage of the same author. Speaking of the pueblos which the expedition of Coronado saw, the aggregate number of which he states to be seventy-one,² he says:—

"Where we had been promised numerous treasures, we found not the slightest trace. In place of settled countries we found deserts. Villages of two hundred souls in lieu of large cities, and hardly eight hundred or a thousand inhabitants in the largest pueblos."³ The total number of "men" in the seventy-one pueblos enumerated by him is estimated at twenty thousand.⁴ The word "Hombres," therefore, is employed by Castañeda in the sense of inhabitants, and not in the sense of warriors alone. If we now take the testimony of the anonymous reports, they agree substantially in computing the number of households in the seven pueblos of Zuñi at seven to eight hundred at the most.⁵ This would place the total number of inhabitants at from

¹ *Cibola*, p. 165.

² *Idem*, p. 182.

³ *Idem*, p. 145: "Où l'on nous avait promis de nombreux trésors, nous n'en trouvâmes pas la moindre trace; au lieu de pays habités, des déserts; des villages de deux cents âmes, au lieu de grandes

viles, et tout au plus huit cents ou mille habitants dans les plus grands villages."

⁴ *Idem*, p. 182: "Ils peuvent renfermer environ vingt mille hommes à en juger par l'apparence."

⁵ *Relacion del Suceso*, p. 319; *Relacion postrera*, estimates about eight hundred families ["casas"].

two to three thousand, a figure which agrees fairly well with the estimate made by Castañeda. Furthermore, it is confirmed by the plans that I have secured of three of the original Cibola-pueblos, among which are the two largest ones, Matzaqui and Hauicu. In estimating the population of the entire cluster of Cibola at four thousand, therefore, we probably exceed the real figure.

In what relation did the tribe of Zuñi stand to other Indians at the time of Coronado? With the Moquis [Tusayan], who were the ultimate village-Indians to the northwest, there seems to have existed but little intercourse. The distance alone, which was considerable, could not have been the cause of the great indifference, even bordering upon hostility, that prevailed at Cibola against Tusayan,¹ and *vice versa*. The surmise may not be altogether misplaced that, as one of the documents leads us to infer, there existed at the time a feud between the two clusters.

That commercial relations existed between the Sobaypuris of the San Pedro valley and Zuñi we have been able to gather from our review of Fray Marcos' journey in 1539.² These relations were neither regular nor extensive, however; they bore the character of those occasional trading expeditions which the pueblo Indians of the Rio Grande valley were wont to undertake to the Comanches and Cayohuas until a few years ago. It seems, also, that whereas the Sobaypuris visited Cibola, the Zuñis but seldom returned the visits. The same thing with the Opatas of the Sonora valley. We recollect that in that valley, and

¹ Castañeda, *Cibola*, p. 58: "Ils apprirent aux Espagnols, qu'il existait une province où il y avait sept villes pareilles à la leur. Mais ils ne s'accordèrent pas tous sur ce point, car ils n'avaient pas de rapport avec cette province. Elle se nomme Tusayan; elle est à vingt-cinq lieues de Cibola."

² See chapter i. and Fray Marcos do Niza, *Descubrimiento*, p. 339: "Aquí había tanta noticia de Cibola, como en la

Nueva España, de México y en el Perú, del Cuzco; y tan particularmente contaban la manera de las casas y de la población y calles y plazas della, como personas que habían estado en ella muchas veces, y que traían de allá, las cosas de pulicía, que tenían habidas por su servicio, como los de atrás;" p. 340: "y tan particularmente me contaban della, como gente que cada año van allí á ganar su vida."

even farther in the centre of Sonora, Cibola was well known, and that the natives obtained from Zuñi the turquoises and many of the tanned hides with which they adorned and protected their bodies.¹ Fray Marcos fails to tell us what the southern Indians gave the Zunis in return. He understood them to say that they worked at Cibola for the inhabitants, and received the turquoises, etc., in compensation.² The term "working" is employed by the Indian in many ways and for a great many different things. He "works" when he is fasting, he "works," also, as often as he travels, be it on the hunt, on the war-path, or on a trading tour. Everything that causes him trouble, that requires reflection or physical exertion, is "work" to the Indian. It is therefore likely that when the Opatas signified, rather than told, Fray Marcos, that they obtained their trinkets from Cibola by "work," they simply meant to say that it cost trouble to go there, and trouble to return, as well as "work" to sell their wares and barter for those of the Zuñis. It was also "work" to pass safely through the Apache country, and all this justified the Indian expression, that they obtained their turquoises at Zuñi by "working" for them.

It is not without interest to inquire into the nature of the exchanges which the people of Zuñi-Cibola may have obtained from their southern neighbors. Mezcal (the toasted stalks of the small Arizonian variety of the agave) may have been used by the Sobaypuris. Among the more southern tribes, parrots' plumes were certainly the main article brought to Zuñi to obtain the much coveted green stones. Thus much is plainly told us by Cabeza de Vaca in his original report.³ The green parrot, called in that country "Guacamayo," is common in the

¹ *Descubrimiento*, pp. 335, 336.

² *Ut supra*: "Y que sirben allí en cabar las tierras y en otros servicios, y que les dan cueros de vacas, de aquellos que allí tienen, y turquesas, por su servicio." The expression "cabar la tierra" [burrow in the earth] probably alludes to the manner in which men obtained the turquoises: breaking the rock.

³ Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, *Naufragios y Relacion de la Jornada que hizo á la Florida*, Vedia i. p. 543: "y digeron que las traian de unas sierras muy altas que están hácia el norte, y las compraban á trueco de penachos y plumas de papagayos, y decian que habia allí pueblos de mucha gente y casas muy grandes."

Sierra Madre, and its feathers were used by the Opatas largely in their dances.

The tribes of the Rio Colorado also had occasional intercourse with Cibola, in a commercial way. The Gulf of California furnishes shells, bivalves mostly, which are highly prized by all the pueblo Indians. In exchange for these, the Cocopas, Yumas, and Mojaves secured at Zuñi skins (sometimes of the buffalo), turquoises, and many of the innumerable trinkets which the Indian holds valuable, and even sometimes sacred.¹ There was thus a trade at Cibola-Zuñi, on a small scale, which, besides increasing, in a limited manner, the resources of its inhabitants, or rather diversifying them, also extended their circle of knowledge, and exercised a slow, gradual influence upon their notions of creed and belief. Geographical knowledge, imperfectly imparted through tales from distant lands, and by the sight of hitherto unknown objects, becomes an integral part of the folk-lore of the tribe, and historical events, whose real nature is easily forgotten, become the basis of a mythology, as stories "about the gods."

It is strange that none of the chroniclers of Coronado's march has mentioned the Apaches-Navajos, who were then certainly neighbors of the Zuñis, as they are to-day. Still, it may be inferred from the remarks made by the Spaniards about the large houses occupied by the Zuñis, and their defensive character, that the inhabitants of Cibola had occasion to fear hostile neighbors.

To the east of the cluster of Zuñi, the pueblo Indians of New Mexico proper begin. With the village dwellers of northern Arizona, the Moquis, there seems to have been but little intercourse. It may even be presumed that both tribes were rather unfriendly towards each other. This estrangement, the cause of which is as yet unknown to me, did not, however, prevail in their relations with the tribes farther east. There was no regular trade, but even the Pecos Indians did not hesitate to make the long and perilous journey to Zuñi in order to trade

¹ Hernando Alarcon, *Relation de la Navigation et de la découverte (Cibola,* 338). The statements are not direct, but they lead to the inference. Appendix, pp. 324-326, 329, 331, 337,

buffalo-robbs and turquoises for whatever of value to them the Zuñis could offer in exchange.¹ It does not appear, from any document at my command, that the Zuñis ever undertook to visit the great plains in order to hunt the great American quadruped, after the manner of the Rio Grande pueblos, those around the Salines of the Manzano, and the Pecos and Taos. They obtained their hides through trade and barter, and mostly at their own villages, from visitors from the centre and east of New Mexico.

In regard to the mode of government adopted by the Cibola Indians, Castañeda is the only author of the time who speaks of it. He contradicts himself in a manner which is quite astonishing. Thus, on page 61, speaking of the Indians of Moqui ["Tusayan"], he asserts: "These Indians are governed, like those of Cibola, by a council of old men."² On page 164, he says of the people of Cibola: "There are no regular Caciques as in New Spain. Neither are there any councils of old men. They have priests who preach; these are aged men who ascend to the highest terrace of the village and deliver a sermon at sunrise. The people sit around and listen in profound silence. These old men give them advice in regard to their manner of living, which they think it their duty to observe; for there is no drunkenness among them, no unnatural vice; they do not eat human flesh; there are no thieves; on the contrary, they are very laborious."³ Castañeda nowhere explains these contradictory statements on his part. Still, we

¹ Castañeda, *Cibola*, pp. 68, 69.

² "Ces Indiens sont gouvernés, comme ceux de Cibola, par un conseil de vieillards. Ils ont des gouverneurs et des capitaines."

³ "Il n'y a pas de caciques réguliers, comme à la Nouvelle Espagne, ni de conseils de vieillards. Ils ont des prêtres qui prêchent, ce sont des gens âgés; ils montent sur la terrasse la plus élevée du village et font un sermon au moment où le soleil se lève. Le peuple s'assied à l'entour et garde un profond silence; ces vieil-

lards leur donnent des conseils sur leur manière de vivre; je crois même qu'ils ont des commandements qu'ils doivent observer; car ni il n'y a parmi eux ni ivrognerie, ni péché contre nature; ils ne mangent pas la chair humaine, ne sont pas voleurs; mais très-laborieux." In connection with this I quote the very unflattering remark from *Relacion del Suceso*, p. 320: "son demasiados de buena casas, mayormente para estos que son bestiales é no tienen otra policia sino en las casas."

easily recognize in the "priests who preach" from the housetops, the public crying; of daily occurrence among the pueblos in general. The absence of exterior demonstrations of governmental power leads to the conclusion, that the government of the Zuñis was at that time very nearly as it is to-day, namely, a military democracy guided by the advice and oracles of religious organizations.

About the creeds and beliefs of the people of Cibola, I find but one short notice in one of the anonymous relations: "They perform rites and sacrifices to certain idols; but what they most worship is water, to which they offer painted sticks and plumes, or bunches of yellow flowers; and this they do commonly at the springs. They also offer turquoises, which are, however, poor in quality."¹ This is the earliest mention made of the prayer-plumes and prayer-sticks so universally in use among the pueblos. As to yellow flowers, it is natural that the narrator should have noticed them particularly, for the Spaniards occupied the Zuñi pueblos in the summer and fall when the wreaths and bouquets worn in the dances are usually yellow. Not a single mention is to be found of the numerous dances of the Zuñis and of the pueblo Indians in general. Still, this need not surprise us. The Spaniards came from newly-conquered Mexico; they had lived among, or seen, at least, the natives of Sinaloa and Sonora. Indian dances were not at all new or striking to them, therefore. The uncouth symbolical pageantry at the dances of the New Mexican village Indians could not compare with the display made on similar occasions by the sedentary aborigines of more southern countries, where the gorgeous plumages of the parrot, of *Trogon resplendens*,² and other tropical birds, replaced the painted head-boards and masks of the New Mexican tribes. What strikes us forcibly at present was, to Coronado and his men, even to the priests accompanying the expedition, nothing but an imperfect

¹ *Relacion del Suceso*, p. 320: "Los ritos é sacrificios que tienen son algunos ídolos; pero á lo que mas husan es á la agua, á la qual ofrecen unos palillos pintados, é plumas, é poblos amarillos de

flores, y esto es lo más ordinario en las fuentes. Tambien ofrecen algunas turquesas, que las tienen, aunque ruines."

² The "Quetzal-tototl."

imitation of what they were wont to see farther south. Had they not witnessed any dances here, their absence would have struck them and they would have told us so.

We are better informed in regard to the arts of husbandry and the occupations of daily life. Of agriculture we are told : —

“ Their food consists mainly of maize, beans, and melons, with some fowl obtained from Mexico. The latter they keep for the feathers rather than to eat, because they make pelts of them, as they have no cotton.” ¹

Castañeda, page 164 : —

“ Maize does not grow very high ; the ears grow almost out of the roots, and each ear has seven to eight hundred grains, which had not yet been observed in the Indies.” ²

“ Relacion postrera : ” —

“ They grow maize, beans, and calabashes, which are sufficient to support them, for there are but few people. The soil where they plant is all sand ; the waters are alkaline ; the soil is very arid.” ³

Jaramillo : —

“ It is a cold country, and in the houses and estufas they keep on hand enough to eat of maize, beans, and calabashes ; . . . the soil is somewhat sandy and not well covered with grass.” ⁴

¹ *Relacion del Suceso*, p. 320 : “ La comida que tienen es mucho maiz é frisoles, é melones, é algunas gallinas de las de México ; y estas las tienen más para la pluma que para comer, porque hacen della pellones, á causa que no tienen ningun algodon ; é se visten de mantas de Hene-grien é de cueros de venados é algunos de vaca.” By “ melones ” must be understood the calabash ; melons are of Spanish importation.

² *Cibola*, p. 164 : “ C'est une vallée étroite entre des montagnes escarpées. Le maïs n'y vient pas très-haut ; les épis partent presque du pied, et chaque épi a

sept ou huit cents grains, ce que l'on n'avait pas encore vu aux Indes.”

³ “ Cogen mayz y frisoles y calabças, lo que les basta para su mantenimiento, porque es poca gente. La tierra donde siembran es toda arena : son las aguas salobres : es tierra muy seca : tienen algunas gallinas, aunque pocas : no saben que cosa es pescado.”

⁴ *Relacion hecha*, p. 308 : “ es tierra fria, y ansi en las casas y estufas que tienen, se demuestra tienen comida harta para ellos, de maiz y frisoles y calabazas ; . . . es la tierra algo arenisca y no muy solada de yerva.” I add here the testi-

It seems, therefore, that there was no cotton planted at Zuñi. Still, they had mantles of cotton, as we shall see farther on; but these garments, or the material therefor, must have been obtained through trade with the Rio Grande pueblos [or the Moquis?] where cotton was raised quite abundantly; in proportion to the limited means at the natives' command. Of irrigation I find no mention; but this is no proof that the Zuñis were unacquainted with the art.

It is almost superfluous to refer to the architecture at Cibola. The many-storied houses of the pueblos are well known, and several of the descriptions of villages, which have been quoted, give ample proof that in 1540 the Zuñis built in the main as they build to-day.

According to the "Relacion del Suceso," page 319: —

"In some pueblos the houses are joined together; in others they are divided into two or three sections; in most cases, however, they are connected and have courts within, in which are the winter ~~estufas~~ ^{estufas}; while outside of the pueblos they have others for summer. The houses are of two and three stories; the walls being made of stone and mud, or of sod."¹

The "Relacion postrera: " —

"Sivola is a village of about two hundred houses, from two to five stories in height, with walls a span thick: the timbers are about as big round as the wrist. In place of planking there are slender canes with their leaves, and over them pounded soil. The walls are of soil and clay. The doors of the houses are like the scuttles of ships. The houses are built connecting; in front of them are estufas built of clay in which they take refuge from the cold in winter."²

mony of Gomara, *Historia*, p. 287: "La tierra es arenosa y de poco fruto; creo que por pereza dellos; pues donde siembran, lleva maiz, frisoles, calabazas y frutas; y aun se erian en ella gallipavos, que no se hacen en todos cabos." The turkey was the only domestic animal of the pueblos, Zuñi included.

¹ I have already copied the passage in note 45. Castañeda says concerning the

estufas at Cibola, p. 165: "Les étuves sont rares dans ce pays." I refer again to the fine description of a subterranean estufa given by Mota-Padilla, p. 113, see note 51.

² "Sivola es un pueblo de hasta ducientas casas: son a dos y tres y cuatro y cinco sobrados: tienen las paredes de un palmo de ancho: los palos de la maderacion son tan gruesos como por la muñeca,

I have already quoted Castañeda's description of Hauicu and Matzaqui, and shall merely add a remark made by Mota-Padilla : —

“The pueblos of Tzibola are constructed of plates joined together with clay or mud-mortar.”¹

The present village of Zuñi forms, in fact, but one extensive many-storied house. It seems that the older villages were built in the same manner ; and Hauicu, indeed, as I have already remarked, belongs to what I have elsewhere termed the polygonal one-house pueblo type.² Matzaqui, as far as a survey of its ruins has permitted me to judge, pertains to the same class of communal architecture. Quiaquima is too much obliterated to venture an opinion in regard to it. As a general rule, however, there has been a change in pueblo architecture since the advent of the Spaniards. The single houses or buildings have grown smaller, and the rooms larger. The original honey-comb composing the village has divided into a number of smaller ones. In New Mexico, Zuñi and Taos have least yielded to this improvement.

Of household implements, the metates are, of course, noticed prominently by the Spanish chroniclers. Mota-Padilla gives a very pertinent description of these slabs, as well as of the manner in which they were used. “And in the manner of grinding their maize, they are different from the other settlements, for they break the corn on a rougher stone, and then successively on a second and third, reducing it to a powder-like meal.”³ I omit purposely the accurate descriptions of Castañeda, since they apply to the Rio Grande pueblos.

y redondos : por tablas contienen cañas muy menudas con sus hojas, y encima tierra presada : las paredes son de tierra y barro : las puertas de las casas son de la manera de escotillones de navios : estan las casas juntas, asidas unas con otras : tienen delante de las casas unas estufas de barro de tierra donde se guarecen en el invierno del frio, porque le han muy grande, que nieva seis meses del año.”

¹ *Historia*, p. 159 : “si bien se diferen-

ciaban en que los pueblos de Tzibola son fabricados de pizarras unidas con argamasa de tierra.” Gomara, *Historia*, p. 287, copies the *Relacion postrera* almost word for word, — a proof that he had the manuscript of Motolinia at his command.

² In the Reports to the Archæological Institute of America.

³ *Historia de Nueva Galicia*, p. 159 : “y en el moler el maiz se diferencian de

Costume is quite fully described in the old chroniclers. It was new to them and striking, so they took pains in recording as many details concerning it as possible. I begin with Castañeda : —

“The Indians of this country are very intelligent. They cover the natural parts of their bodies and the waist with pieces of cloth similar to towels, which are ornamented with tassels and embroidered at the corners; they tie them about the loins. These natives also have a kind of pelts, of feathers or of hare skins, and cotton cloth. The women wear on the shoulders a kind of mantle which they tie around the neck, passing it under the left arm. They also prepare dresses of well-tanned skins, and comb their hair behind the ears in the shape of wheels, suggesting the handles of a cup.”¹

The “Relacion postrera :” —

“Of these people, some wear mantles of cotton, of maguey, or of tanned deer-skin, and shoes of the same hide reaching to the knee. They also make mantles of rabbit and hare skins, with which they cover themselves. The women dress in mantles of maguey reaching to the feet, with girdles; they wind up the hair behind the ears like wheels.”²

The “Relacion del Suceso,” in addition to the feather-mantles already

las demas poblaciones, porque en una piedra mas áspera martajan el maiz, y pasa á la segunda y tercera, de donde le sacan en polvo como harina.”

¹ *Cibola*, p. 163: “Les Indiens de ce pays sont très-intelligents; ils se couvrent les parties naturelles et tout le milieu du corps avec des pièces d'étoffes qui ressemblent des serviettes; elles sont garnies de houpes et d'une broderie aux coins; ils les attachent autour des reins. Ces naturels ont aussi des espèces de pelisses en plumes ou en peaux de lièvres, et des étoffes de coton. Les femmes portent sur les épaules une espèce de mante qu'elles nouent autour du cou, en les passant sous le bras

droit; elles se font aussi des vêtements de peaux très-bien préparées, et retroussent leurs cheveux derrière les oreilles en forme de roue, ce qui ressemble aux anses d'une coupe.”

² “Esta gente algunos traen mantas de algodón y de maguey y cueros de venados adobados, y traen çapatos de los mesmos cueros hasta encima de las rodillas: también hacen mantas de pellejos de liebres y de conejos, con que se cubren: andan las mujeres vestidas de mantas de maguey hasta los piés: andan ceñidas: traen los cabellos cogidos encima de las orejas como rodaxas.”

quoted from the same document, says : " and they dress in mantles of Hennequen and deer-hide, or of cow-skin." ¹

Jaramillo is more explicit : —

"The dress of the Indians consists of deer-skins, very well dressed ; they also have a few tanned cow-hides with which they cover themselves. These are like shaggy woolen goods and very warm. They have square cotton mantles, some larger and some smaller, about one and a half ell in length. The women wear them on their shoulders, similar to the custom of the gypsies, and they wind around the waist several folds of the same cotton cloth as a girdle." ²

Already Fray Marcos had given some reports about the costume of the Zuñi Indians. For the sake of curiosity rather than for their accuracy I quote them also, remarking, however, that the monk positively states that he was only told, and had not seen the costume himself.

"They told me . . . that the vestments of the natives were wide cotton shirts that went down as far as the feet ; that they were tied around the neck with a button and a long string that hung from it ; that the sleeves of these shirts were of equal width above and below. . . . They say that they gird their bodies with turquoise girdles, and over these shirts some wear excellent mantles, and others cow-skins finely decorated, which are considered to be the easiest and best garment in the country. The women are dressed in a like manner ; they also wear garments that reach down to the feet." ³ It is easy to recog-

¹ Page 320 : " é se visten de mantas de Hennegrien é de cueros de venados, é algunos de vaca." Gomara, *Historia*, p. 287, but condenses the *Relacion pos-trera*.

² *Relacion hecha*, p. 308 : " el vestido de los Indios es de cueros de venados, estremadisimo el adobo, alcanzan ya algunos cueros de vacas adobado con que se cobijan, que son á manera de bernias y de mucho abrigo ; tienen mantas de algodón cuadradas ; unas mayores que otras, como de vara y media en largo ; las Indias las

traen puestas por el hombro á manera de Gitanas y ceñidas una vuelta sobre otra por su cintura con una cinta del mismo algodón." I have not been able, as yet, to find any statement from the time of Coronado to the effect that the Zuñis knew how to spin and weave cotton, whereas it is positive that the Rio Grande pueblos did. It is very likely, if not altogether certain, that cotton mantles formed a chief object of trade between these two groups of village Indians.

³ *Descubrimiento de las siete Ciudades*,

nize in the above a distorted, or misunderstood, attempt at description of the Zuñi costume, or rather of pueblo costume in general. The blankets made of rabbit hair were also mentioned to Fray Marcos, as being worn by the people of Totonteac, in the following manner:—

“I was dressed in gray cloth, called Zaragoça. . . . The chief of the lands and other Indians touched my cassock and said that there was much cloth of the same kind at Totonteac, and that the natives wore dresses made of it. I told them, with a smile, that it could not be possible, and that it must be cloth similar to their own cotton mantles. But they replied: ‘Do you think that we do not know that this tissue differs from the one we wear? You must know that at Cibola the houses are filled with goods like ours, but at Totonteac there are little animals that furnish the material out of which that tissue is made.’ . . . They told me these animals were as big as the two greyhounds which Estevan had with him. They affirm that there are many of these animals at Totonteac, but I could not find out what kind they were.”¹

p. 336: “Dixéronme que la manera del vestido de los de Cibola es: unas camisas de algodón, largas hasta el empeine del pié con un boton á la garganta y un torzal largo que cuelga dél, y las mangas destas camisas, anchas tanto de arriba como de abajo; á mi pareser es como vestido bohemio. Dicen que andan ceñidos con cintas de turquesas, y que encima destas camisas, los unos traen muy buenas mantas y los otros cueros de vacas, muy bien labrados, que tienen por mejor vestido, de que en aquella tierra dicen que hay mucha cantidad, y asimismo las mujeres andan vestidas y cubiertas hasta los piés, de la misma manera.”

I add here the report which an Indian from the Colorado River made to Alarcon, *Relation*, p. 325: “Ils portent des manteaux et des cuirs de vache, et ces manteaux sont bordés d’une peinture. Leur

chef est vêtu d’une longue chemise, et serrée par une ceinture. Ils mettent par-dessus plusieurs manteaux; les femmes portent de très-longes vêtements blancs, qui les couvrent entièrement.”

¹ *Descubrimiento*, p. 338: “y me dixerón que de aquello habia mucho en Totonteac, y que lo traian vestido los naturales de allí, de lo cual yo me ref, y dixe que no seria sino de aquellas mantas de algodón aquellos traian; y dixéronme: ‘piensas que no sabemos que eso que tu traes y lo que nos otros traímos es diferente? sabe que en Cibola todas las casas están llenas desta ropa que nosotros traemos mas; mas en Totonteac hay unos animales pequeños, de los cuales quitan lo con que se hace esto que tú traes.’ Yo me admiré, porque no habia oido tal casa hasta que llegué aqui, y quiseme informar muy particularmente dello, y dixéronme, que los animales

The great "jack-rabbit"¹ is not much smaller than the greyhounds which accompanied the negro on his last fatal trip, and the comparison is, therefore, not so much out of place as might appear at first. Both animals run with like speed, and their color is nearly the same. As to the rabbit-blankets, they are still worn at Moqui, and there are a few at Zuñi. On the whole, the descriptions of the costume, as the chroniclers of Coronado give them, are exact. One of the objects mentioned has disappeared now; the "mantles," or rather skirts, which they say were made of the agave [maguey]. This garment is out of use altogether, and it was not made of the leaves of maguey, but of strips of yucca² plaited together. Specimens have been found in caves formerly inhabited, especially on the upper Rio Gila.³

Of the weapons used at Cibola no special mention is found in the sources which I have at command, beyond the fact that the Indians of Hauicu fought the Spaniards with bows and arrows, and with stones hurled from the housetops. But while Coronado was at Cibola, a delegation of pueblo Indians from Pecos came and presented him, says Castañeda, "with tanned hides, shields, and helmets."⁴ It is to be presumed that the Zuñi Indians possessed the same kind of defensive armor; in fact, we know that shields of buffalo hide, elaborately decorated with rough paintings, are still found in their possession. Mr. Cushing has discovered that they wore caps of thick buffalo hide over their heads in war, and these morion-like protections may have been compared by the Spanish narrator, and quite appropriately too, with helmets. Their purpose was indeed the same; and they could arrest an arrow, provided it was dispatched at some distance from the warrior at whom it was aimed.

Of other manners and customs but little definite information is obtainable from the authors of that time. Castañeda tells us:—

son del tamaño de dos galgos de Castilla que llevaba Estéban; dicen que hay muchos en Totonteac; no pude atinar que género de animales fuese."

¹ *Lepus callotis*.

² Chiefly *Yucca angustifolia* and *Yucca bacata*.

³ At Mangas Springs.

⁴ *Cibola*, p. 69: "Ils lui offrirent en présent des cuirs tannés, des boucliers et des casques."

“A man never marries more than one wife. They construct estufas which are seen in the courts of the houses, and in the places where they gather in council . . . they regard it as sacrilegious for a woman to enter the same place twice. The cross with them is a symbol of peace. They burn their dead, and with them all the implements used by them in their lifetime.”¹

The custom of cremating is even described rather minutely by Mota-Padilla : —

“And on one occasion the Spaniards saw that an Indian having died, they erected a large platform, on which they placed the body, covered with a robe, and forthwith the entire village, men and women, placed on this wooden bed pinole, calabashes, beans, atole, parched corn, and whatever else they used to eat, and set fire to it on all sides, so that in a short time it was reduced to ashes, together with the corpse.”² It is not quite clear, however, whether he relates ~~this~~ as having occurred at Zuñi or among the Rio Grande pueblos. The Indians of the Colorado River, which Alarcon interrogated on the subject of Cibola, made quite different statements concerning the funeral customs there. They told him : —

“When a chief dies, they bury with him all he possesses.”³ The same Indians also told Alarcon that “the people of Cibola use bows,

¹ *Cibola*, p. 164 : “Un homme n'épouse jamais plus d'une seule femme. Ils savent construire des étuves ; on en voit dans les cours des maisons et dans les places où ils se réunissent en conseil ;” p. 165 : “Les étuves sont rares dans ce pays. Ils regardent comme un sacrilège que les femmes entrent deux fois dans un endroit ; la croix est chez eux un symbole de paix. Ils brûlent les morts, et avec eux les instruments qui leur ont servi à exercer leur métier.”

² *Historia*, p. 160 : “y en una ocasion vieron los españoles, que habiendo muerto un Indio, armaron una grande balsa ó lu-

minaria de leña, sobre que pusieron el cuerpo cubierto con una manta, y luego todos los del pueblo, hombres y mujeres, fueron poniendo sobre la cama de leña, pinole, calabazas, frijoles, atole, maiz tostado, y de lo demas que usaban comer, y dieron fuego por todas partes, de suerte que en breve tiempo se convirtio en cenizas con el cuerpo.”

³ *Relation*, p. 325 : “D'après le rapport de ces naturels de Cibola ils n'ont qu'une femme qu'ils épousent. Lorsque les chefs meurent, on enterre avec eux tout ce qu'ils ont possédé.” See, also, p. 332.

arrows, clubs, sticks, and round shields, and marry but one wife.”¹ I leave the point undecided as to whether Castañeda or the Indians from the Colorado are correct; and after this review of the ethnological information contained in the chroniclers of Coronado’s march, turn to the events following the capture of Hauicu and the surrender of the Zuñi tribe.

Hauicu remained Coronado’s headquarters during the time he occupied the Zuñi district. Thence he sent out three expeditions, the first of which went to the Moquis [Tusayan]. It was commanded by Don Pedro de Tobar, and consisted of about twenty men. Fray Juan Padilla, who was afterwards murdered by Indians in eastern Kansas, accompanied the troop. Tobar returned to Hauicu with the news of the submission of the Moquis, and Garcia-Lopez de Cardenas was sent out again to the Moquis to examine the upper course of the Colorado River. These expeditions were made in the summer and early fall of 1540.² Meanwhile, the delegation from Pecos, which I have already mentioned, had arrived, and Coronado improved the opportunity to push a reconnaissance to the eastern limits of the territory over which the New Mexican pueblos were scattered. He sent, therefore, Hernando de Alvarado and Fray Juan de Padilla, with twenty horsemen, to accompany the Pecos Indians on their way home.³ We have seen already that the report, which the two leaders made of their trip, enlightens us on the condition of the country southeast of Zuñi. We need not follow the track of Alvarado farther; he did not return to Zuñi till two years later, when Coronado left the southwest forever.

These bold excursions show that Coronado felt perfectly safe among the Indians of Zuñi. No trouble whatever, of any magnitude, seems to have arisen between him and them. After Alvarado had left, and

¹ *Relation*, p. 325.

² Castañeda, *Cibola*, pp. 58, 61, 62: “quoique l’on fut en été;” Mota-Padilla, *Historia*, p. 114; *Relacion del Suceso*, pp. 320–322. As these expeditions are foreign to my subject, I merely refer to the sources without giving the text.

³ He left on the 29th of August, old style [8th of September], *Relacion de lo que Hernando de Alvarado y Fray Joan de Padilla descubrieron*, p. 511: “veinte y nueve de Agosto de ’40.”

previous to the return of Garcia-Cardenas from the Colorado River, there were not over sixty Spaniards at Cibola, and these were not in the least in danger. It was not merely fear that kept the Indians quiet, neither was it the "mild nature and disposition" so often and so falsely attributed to the New Mexican pueblo people. The conduct of the Spaniards themselves must have been in strict accordance with the ordinances and regulations promulgated, which were at that time already favorable to the natives, and which subsequent decrees continued to improve. The Zuñis remained on the same friendly terms with the whites as long as Coronado stayed in the southwest.

When he left Culiacan, he had given orders to the main body of his troops to follow after him within twenty days, and rejoin him at Cibola.¹ Don Tristan de Arellano, who commanded that body, executed these orders much later than the time specified. He left, it is true, on the day stated, but remained in the valley of the Rio Sonora, in order to found a colony there, until the last of September.² When the troops got to within a day's journey of Hauicu, it had already begun to snow.³ As soon as the whole army was together at Cibola (a few reconnoitring parties and the troop commanded by Alvarado excepted), Coronado again moved forward with thirty men only, in order to rejoin his lieutenant among the Tiguas on the Rio Grande at Bernalillo.⁴ Twenty days later the main body followed in the same direction, and the Spaniards evacuated Zuñi completely.⁵ But it remained a convenient relay between them and Sonora, and the Indians never ceased to maintain the friendly relations which had once been established.⁶

I do not propose to write the history of Coronado's expedition in general. What happened to the Spaniards after they evacuated the Zuñi basin — the sanguinary strife at Bernalillo, and the reckless enter-

¹ Castañeda, *Cibola*, pp. 36, 43; *Relacion del Suceso*, p. 318.

² *Cibola*, p. 48: "Et vers la mi-septembre le reste de l'armée se mit en marche en bon ordre, et chargé de vivres, en se

dirigeant vers Cibola pour rejoindre le général."

³ *Idem*, p. 55.

⁴ *Idem*, p. 76.

⁵ *Idem*, p. 78.

⁶ *Idem*, pp. 112, 220, etc.

prise into Kansas in search of Quivira — had nothing to do with Zuñi and its inhabitants. It is only when Coronado, disgusted, and suffering from the effects of an injury received from his own horse, determined upon abandoning all further discoveries, as well as all efforts at colonizing a country that realized none of the popular fancies in regard to it, and upon retreating to Mexico, that Cibola comes into prominence again for a very short time. In April, 1542 (not 1543, as Castañeda has it), the remnants of the once buoyant Spanish corps left the Rio Grande and retraced its steps back to Cibola.¹ On the road over thirty horses died, possibly from the poisonous effects of the “Garbancillo,” a plant with a beautiful purple flower and a sweet, but dangerously narcotic root, which animals eat when hungry.² At Cibola the corps rested for a few days, previous to entering upon the desert stretch separating Zuñi from the Rio Gila.

The last noteworthy thing connected with Zuñi and its people during the expedition of Coronado is the fact that a number of Indians of Mexico, who had accompanied the Spaniards in the capacity of servants and guides, Indians from Jalisco and Sinaloa, remained voluntarily among the people of Cibola!³ The Zuñi Indians even followed the little army for two or three days, and used every effort to induce other members of the troop to go back with them and stay.⁴ The Nahuatl-speaking natives who remained at Zuñi married into the tribe, and we shall meet with them hereafter at the time of Espejo's visit to Cibola.⁵

Beyond this increase of population through the admixture of a foreign linguistic stock, and a few notions dimly conceived, and soon disfigured by the effects of time, the celebrated march of Coronado has left no permanent record among the people of the Zuñi villages. It

¹ *Cibola*, p. 214; Jaramillo, *Relacion hecha*, pp. 316, 317.

² Castañeda, *Cibola*, p. 216. The “Garbancillo” is the so-called “Loco-weed.”

³ *Idem*, p. 217: “il y eut même quelque Indiens du Mexique qui nous avaient accompagnés, qui y restèrent et s'y établirent.”

⁴ *Idem*, pp. 219, 220.

⁵ Antonio de Espejo, *Relacion del Viage* (*Doc. de Indias*, xv. p. 118): “y a qui hallamos tres Indios cristianos, que se dijeron llamar Andrés de Cuyuacan, Gaspar de México y Anton de Guadalaxara.”

came unexpectedly ; it went away leaving scarcely any trace. But it prepared the ground for subsequent attempts to settle the country, and the beneficial results of the good relations which Coronado succeeded in maintaining with the Indians of Zuñi were harvested forty years after by explorers whose deeds will form the basis of the second part of this chapter.

[SECTION II. 1542-1599.]

The Spaniards of Coronado had given a name to Cibola-Zuñi, — they called it “Granada.”¹ Fray Marcos of Nizza, when he took possession of the country, gave it the name of “the new kingdom of Saint Francis.”² The latter was soon forgotten, but as late as 1657, at all events, New Mexico appears on maps under the name of “Nueva Granada.” Still the same maps carry also, in a position about corresponding to the one of Sante-Fe, the inscription “Real de Nuevo Mexico.”³ The designation New Mexico was used as early as the year 1568, but it then was applied to northern Durango only, and Francisco Cano, who claimed the right of discovery, referred in his claim to the shores of the lagoon of Tlahualila, or of Parras,⁴ and in no way to the distant North beyond the yet untrodden regions of Chihuahua. This was a step forward in the direction of New Mexico, however, and led not only to the settlement of Parras, in Coahuila, but also of Santa Barbara and the

¹ *Traslado*, p. 530: “y si comieramos mucho mas de lo que comiamos el dia que llegó S. Md. á esta Ciudad de Granada, que asi le ha puesto por nombre en memoria del Virrey ; y porque dicen que parece al Albaicin ;” Gómara, *Historia*, p. 287: “Entraron los nuestros, y nombraronla Granada, por amor del Virey, que es natural de la de España.” A good deal more evidence could be adduced.

² *Descubrimiento de las siete Ciudades*, p. 343: “parescióme llamar aquella tierra el nuevo reino de San Francisco.”

³ Compare for instance the maps in :

Ptolomeo. *Geografia*, 1548, by Messer Pietro Andrea Mattiolo Senese Medico ; P. Bert, *Tabularum Geographicarum Contractarum*, 1552, p. 620 ; Cornelius Wytfliet, *Descriptionis Ptolemaicæ Augmentum sive Occidentis Notitiæ*, 1597 ; and Jean Janssen, *Atlantis, Pars quarta*, 1657.

⁴ *Testimonio del descubrimiento y posesion de la Laguna del Nuevo Mexico, hecho por Francisco Cano, Teniente de Alcalde Mayor de las Minas de Maxipi en la Nueva Galicia (Doc. de Indias, xix. pp. 536, etc., November, 1568).*

valley of San Bartholomé,¹ and ultimately to the opening of the mines of Parral.² The route to the north by way of Sinaloa and Sonora was abandoned for the time, the failure of Coronado's attempt on that line disgusted the Spanish colonists as well as the viceroys themselves, and the discovery of rich mines in the centre of northern Mexico² carried the drift of advance away from the Pacific slope. As soon as the mines of Santa Barbara became known a small settlement was effected there, and along with the prospector and the miner came the missionary,³ with the purpose of ministering to the spiritual wants of the adventurous white man, as well as with an earnest desire to convert and civilize as many of the savage aborigines as possible. In 1580 a lay brother of the order of St. Francis, Fray Agustin Rodriguez, was at Santa Barbara, occupied in the arduous duties of a missionary among the Tepehuanes and Conchos. Fray Rodriguez was an old man: still he shrunk from no work or danger, and if he thought his duty demanded his life, he was ready to sacrifice himself.⁴ When, therefore, news reached Santa Barbara that in the distant North there were settlements of natives that might afford a wide field of activity for a Christian missionary, he went to the city of Mexico on foot, to implore the viceroy for permission to go there, and to devote the remnant of his days to the conversion of these people.⁵ It was indispensable to obtain this official permit, as the royal decrees strictly prohibited discoveries, colonizations, and conquests, as well as attempts at conversions, from being made without special license.⁶ The Count of Coruña willingly anticipated

¹ Santa Barbara, a short distance from Parral, and San Bartholomé were occupied by the Spaniards about 1562.

² In 1632. *Real Cedula*, 30th June, 1668 (MS. Archives of Mexico).

³ *Informe al Rey por el Cabildo eclesiástico de Guadalajara*, 20 January, 1570 (*Doc. para la Historia de México*, Joaquín García Ycazbalceta, 2, p. 494); Fray Francisco de Arlegui, *Crónica de la Provincia de N. S. P. S. Francisco de*

Zacatecas, 1737, pp. 64, 65; *Relucion hecha por Joan de Miranda, clerigo, al Doctor Orozco*, 1575.

⁴ Fray Gerónimo de Mendieta, *Historia eclesiástica Indiana* (lib. iv. cap. xi. p. 401).

⁵ *Idem*, pp. 401, 763; Fray Agustin de Vetancurt, *Menologio franciscano*, ed. of 1871, p. 413.

⁶ *Nuevas Leyes y Ordenanzas para la Gobernacion de las Indias*, 4 June, 1543

the decision of the court at Madrid, and authorized the monk to undertake the journey, allowing him two companions of his order and an escort of not over twenty men. Fray Rodriguez being a lay brother, a priest, Fray Francisco Lopez, was sent along as commissary, and Fray Juan de Santa Maria was the third.¹ The escort consisted of eight soldiers on horseback under Francisco Sanchez Chamuscado, and twenty-three Indian servants on foot. The little party left Santa Barbara on the 5th of June, 1581,² in search of what afterwards proved to be the pueblo Indians of New Mexico.

I can but briefly sketch the itinerary of this adventurous trip. They traversed Chihuahua, striking the Rio Grande above the mouth of the Rio de las Conchas.³ They ascended the course of that river beyond El Paso del Norte, till at last they met with the first pueblos at the place where now stands San Marcial.⁴ These belonged to the Piros, and their villages extended as far north along the river as Los Lentos.⁵ North of the Piros began the settlements of the Tiguas, and there, at the pueblo of "Pua-ray," opposite Bernalillo, the region which Coro-

(*Doc. p. la Hist.: de Mexico*, Icazbalceta, 2, pp. 216, 217, and the Laws of 1573 especially).

¹ These facts hardly require proof. In addition to Mendieta and Vetancurt, already quoted, I refer to *Testimonio dado en México sobre el Descubrimiento de Do-scientas Leguas adelante, de las Minas de Santa Bárbara, Gobernacion de Diego de Ibarra; cuyo Descubrimiento se hizo en virtud de cierta Licencia que pidió Fr: Agustín Rodríguez y otros Religiosos franciscanos*, 1582 and 1583 (*Doc. de Indias*, xv. pp. 80, 82, 88, 98, 101, 130, etc.).

² *Relacion breve y verdadera del Descubrimiento del Nuevo México* (*Doc. de Indias*, xv. p. 146); Pedro de Bustamante and Hernan Gallegos, *Testimonio dado*, pp. 83 and 90, both say the 6th of June.

³ For these details, I refer to the documents above mentioned.

⁴ It is not the place here to discuss this question. I have carefully examined the route and the country, and find that San Marcial is the point. South of it, the many storied pueblo-houses are not anywhere to be found, the ruins showing a different type of architecture. Francisco Diaz de Vargas, *Testimonio dado*, p. 131, identifies the "San Felipe" of Chamuscado and his men with Cibola, but the error is plain. San Felipe was on the Rio Grande south of Puaray. Puaray is well known. I surveyed its ruins and have the plan. It lies opposite Bernalillo.

⁵ Near the station of "Los Lunas." The pueblo at Los Lunas belonged to the Tiguas. It was called "Be-juij Tu-aij" [Be-juÿ Tu-äy] — village of the Rainbow.

nado called "Tiguex," the priests determined to remain, giving their escort freedom to return.¹ It was heroic but very imprudent, as the sequel did not fail to show. Seeing the determination of the monks to remain alone, Chamuscado determined nevertheless to explore the country. The people of the pueblos appeared to be very friendly, the small number of Spaniards did not in the least impair their safety, and they boldly started out from Puaray in search of the valley of "Cami," which is on the side towards the South Sea, where they found six villages of from thirty to a hundred houses, of two and three stories, built of stone, with many Indians clad like the others. While there they were told of the valley of Asay, and that in it there were five large pueblos with many people. From what the Indians gave them to understand, they concluded that two of the latter pueblos must be very large, and that in them more cotton was raised than in any other portion of the country which they had seen; but on account of snow they could not go any farther, and were obliged to return to Puaray.²

West of the Rio Grande and in the direction of the Pacific Ocean,³ the nearest pueblo-cluster of any consequence is Zuñi. Acoma is only one village, and its situation is so exceptional that the Spaniards could

¹ *Testimonio dado*, p. 87, etc.

² Pedro de Bustamante, *Testimonio dado*, p. 86: "en el cual tuvieron noticia de cierto valle y poblacion de diferente lengua, que llaman el Valle de Cami, que está á la banda del Sur, de donde con esta nueva, salieron y llegaron á el dicho Valle, á donde hallaron seis pueblos de á treinta, cuarenta y hasta cien casas, con muchos Indios vestidos al modo de los demás, y las casas de dos y tres altos de piedra; y estando allí, les dieron nueva del Valle de Asay, y que en él abia cinco pueblos grandes de mucha gente, y segun las señas que los Indios dieron, entendieron que los dos de los dichos pueblos eran muy

grandes, y que en todos ellos se criaba mucha cantidad de algodón más que en otra parte ninguna de las que abian visto; y por nevarles, no pudieron pasar adelante; y les fué forzoso volverse á el dicho pueblo de Puaray, donde abian salido." Gallegos, *Idem*, p. 93, has "Osaÿ" [Osaij]. The termination "aÿ" [aij] is Tiguex. It recalls somewhat the "T-usaÿ-an" of Castañeda.

³ *Idem*, p. 86: "que está á la banda del Sur." This means towards the South Sea, a mode of expression often observed in Spanish American documents of the period. It indicates, therefore, not south, but west.

not have failed to mention the fact, had they seen that famous rocky stronghold. "Cami" must, therefore, have been Zuñi. Indeed, we find in a series of examinations taken about the year 1600, for and in behalf of D. Juan de Oñate, the conqueror of New Mexico, the following testimony concerning the explorations made by Chamuscado:—

"They discovered the province of Zuñi or Sumi, as Chamuscado calls it with the six last villages of his report, of poor people, great workers and domesticated, and in all the pueblos * * * very well made, on account of Coronado and Chamuscado having been there. They live in houses of three and four stories of stone."¹

This identifies the "Cami" of Chamuscado's soldiers with Zuñi, and therefore also with Cibola; the word "Cami" seems to be a misprint or a mistake in copying the original manuscript.

Thirty-nine years after Coronado's departure from New Mexico, it thus appears that Zuñi was visited again by the Spaniards. It also seems that notwithstanding the small number of these visitors, they were not exposed to any danger from the Indians. The recollections of the inhabitants from the time of Coronado, therefore, cannot have been unfavorable. Still, the same thing might be said of the Tiguas of the Rio Grande, with whom Coronado and his people had had a series of bloody engagements. At Puaray, the monks and their companions were received with hospitality. But that friendly spirit did not prevail long. After Chamuscado had departed for the South again matters changed on the river, and before the end of the year 1581 the three missionaries were dead. Fray Augustin Rodriguez was the last one to perish at the hands of the Tiguas; his mutilated body was thrown into the Rio Grande.²

¹ *Testimonio de la entrada que hizo al Nuevo México, Francisco Sanchez Chamuscado con ocho soldados y tres frailes, año de ochenta é uno, 1602 (Doc. de Indias, xvi. p. 203, has "la nacion Cabri." Testimonio de la entrada que hizo Anton de Espera año de ochenta é dos á estas provincias, con trece compañeros y dos frailes, 1602 (Id. 206), "Descubrieron*

la provincia de Zuñi ó Sumi, como la nombra Chacuscado con los seis postreros pueblos de su relacion. de gente pobre, grandes trabajadores y domésticos; y en todos los pueblos . . . muy bien hechas por haber estado allí Coronado y Chamuscado; viven en casas de tres y cuatro altos de piedra, las más, de amolar."

² This fact is too well known to require

Previous to the departure of Chamuscado for Santa Barbara, the youngest of the friars, Fray Juan de Santa Maria, had already perished in an attempt to return to Mexico from Galisteo by way of the eastern Salines.¹ The news of his death created a natural uneasiness for the fate of the others, and a wealthy colonist, Antonio de Espejo, a native of Cordova in Spain, determined to relieve the dangerous situation of the remaining priests.² He accordingly armed and equipped fourteen men, and set out with these and the Franciscan Fray Francisco Beltran for New Mexico; as Chamuscado and his men baptized the region which they had partially explored. The name, New Mexico, was, therefore, given to the territory at present so called and those parts of Arizona bordering upon it in 1581.³ Espejo left Santa Barbara on the 10th of November, 1582,⁴ mostly following the route pursued by his predecessors until he reached Puaray, only to find that the missionaries had been murdered. The Indians, fearing that he might take revenge for the deed, retired to the mountain fastnesses.⁵ Espejo wavered for a moment as to whether he ought not to abandon further explorations and return to Chihuahua;⁶ but seeing that even the small number of men under his command inspired a wholesome respect, and being personally endowed with extraordinary tact and skill in dealing with Indians,⁷ he determined to push on boldly, and see as much of the country and its people as possible. From Puaray he marched east, to the Tanos of the Galisteo-basin,⁸ thence to the Queres on the Rio Grande.⁹ Crossing that river to the west, he successively visited

proof. Besides, it is not directly connected with the history of Zuñi.

¹ Vetancurt, *Menologio*, p. 184; Fray Gerónimo de Zárate-Salmeron, *Relacion de todas las cosas que en el Nuevo México se han visto y sabido*, 1626 (MS. Archives of Mexico, S. 7 and 8).

² Antonio de Espejo, *Relacion del Viage*, October, 1583 (*Doc. de Indias*, xv. pp. 102, 165).

³ Vargas, *Testimonio dado*, p. 131:

“que estos nombraron San Felipe de Nuevo México.”

⁴ *Relacion del Viage*, p. 103.

⁵ *Idem*, p. 113.

⁶ *Idem*.

⁷ There is no proof of it in his whole career while in New Mexico. See also, *Testimonio de la entrada*, p. 207.

⁸ *Idem*, p. 114, he calls them “Maguas.”

⁹ *Idem*, p. 115, “los Quires.”

Cia,¹ the Jemez group of villages,² Acoma,³ and finally, "We went on journeying westward, twenty-four leagues, till we came to a province with six pueblos."⁴ I must here interrupt the quotation in order to refer to discrepancies in the two texts which I am consulting. The "Relacion del Viage," under date of October, 1583, says: "and they call it Amé, and by another name Cibola."⁵ A copy of it, embodied in papers touching the subsequent proposition which Espejo made to the crown to colonize New Mexico at his own expense, says: "Which they call Zuñi, and by another name Cibola."⁶ The corrupt and disfigured text published by Hakluyt in his "Divers Voiages" has Zuny,⁷ but I cannot conscientiously refer to it, since it frequently changes the meaning of the original and makes it unintelligible.

The Report then continues as follows: ". . . in which there are a large number of Indians, it appeared that there were as many as twenty thousand, where we learned that Francisco Vazquez Coronado and some of the captains he had with him had been in this province. We found crosses placed near the pueblos, and three Christian Indians called Andres of Cuyuacan, Gaspar of Mexico, and Anton of Guadalajara, who said that they had come with the said Governor Francisco Vazquez. These we set right again in the Mexican language, for they had almost forgotten it. From them we learned that Francisco Vazquez Coronado had been there, and also Don Pedro de Tobar, the latter having been informed of the existence of a great lagune where, the natives said, there were many settlements. They told us that in that

¹ *Relacion del Viage*: "hallamos otra provincia que llaman los Punames, que son cinco pueblos, que la cabecera se dise, Siay." "Pu-na-ma," in Queres, signifies western people, and the Cias are indeed Queres living west of the Rio Grande pueblos.

² *Idem*, p. 116, "los Emexes."

³ *Idem*. It is the earliest mention I find of the name "Acoma."

⁴ *Idem*, p. 180. It is the copy em-

bodied in the *Expediente sobre el Ofrecimiento que hace Francisco Diaz de Vargas*, 1584 (*Doc. de Indias*, xv.): "Fuimos caminando cuatro jornadas, veinte y cuatro leguas hácia el Poniente, donde hallamos al cabo dellas, una provincia, que son seis pueblos."

⁵ *Relacion*, p. 117.

⁶ *Idem*, p. 180: "que la provincia llaman Zuñi, y por otro nombre Cibola."

⁷ "El Viaie que hizo Antonio Espejo."

country there was gold, that the people wore clothing, bracelets, and earrings of gold, and that it was sixty days distant. They also told us that the people of Coronado went twelve days beyond this province, and returned not having found water, their own drinking water having given out. They gave us tokens of an unmistakable nature of the lagune country, and of the riches owned by the Indians living there, together with much other information in regard to it; but, although I, myself, and some of my companions wished to visit it, others refused. They told us, also, that they gave Francisco Vazquez Coronado and his people many metals, but they could not make use of them for lack of machinery. We here found Castilian flax, which seems to grow in the field without being sown. At Cibola, in a village called Aquico, Father Fray Bernaldino, Miguel Sanchez Valenciano and his wife Casilda de Anaya, Lazaro Sanchez Nebado and his sons, Gregorio Hernandez, Cristobal Sanchez, and Joan de Frias, — all of whom came with me, said that they wanted to return to New Biscay, whence we had come, because they found that Francisco Vazquez Coronado had discovered neither gold nor silver and had returned, and so they did. The customs and rites are the same as those of the provinces which we left behind us; the people dress in cotton mantles and in others which appear to be of coarse linen; there is much game. Here we heard of another province towards the setting-sun, four days of seven leagues each, at the end of which we found a province called Mohoce, with five pueblos.”¹ Espejo went to Mohoce, which is the Queres name for

¹ P. 180: “en la cual hay mucha cantidad de Indios, que pareció habia mas de veinte mil Indios, donde supimos haber estado Francisco Vazquez Coronado, y algunos capitanes de los que llevó consigo; y en esta provincia hallamos puestas junto á los pueblos, cruces; y aquí hallamos tres Indios cristianos que se digeron llamar Andrés de Cuyacan y Gaspar de México y Anton de Guadalajara, que digeron haber entrado con el dicho Gobernador Francisco Vazquez, y reformándolos en la len-

gua mexicana que ya casi la tenían olvidada; destos supimos que habia llegado allí el dicho Francisco Vazquez Coronado y sus capitanes, y que habia entrado allí Don Pedro de Tobar, teniendo noticia de una laguna grande, donde decian estos naturales, hay muchas poblaciones; y nos digeron habia en aquella tierra, oro, y que eran gente vestida, y que traian brazaletes y oregeres de oro, y que estaban sesenta jornadas, y que la gente del dicho Coronado, habia ido doce jornadas, adelante

Moqui. Only nine of his men accompanied him, one hundred and fifty Zuñis, and the three Mexican Indians. It is well known that Espejo penetrated even beyond Moqui into northwestern Arizona.¹

It strikes us again, with what surprising boldness Espejo acted, considering the limited number of men that were along with him. In addition to a remarkable faculty of gaining the confidence and friendship of the Indians, he must have seen that these Indians were under impressions, from the time of Coronado's visit, exceedingly favorable to the whites, which he knew how to improve judiciously. It was no small risk to leave six Spaniards, one of whom was a defenseless priest,

desta provincia, y que de allí se habian vuelto, por no haber hallado agua, y se les habia acabado el agua que llevaban, y nos dieron señas muy conocidas de aquella laguna y riquezas que poseen los Indios que en ella viven, y aunque yo, y algunos de mis compañeros, quisimos ir á esta laguna, otros no quisieron acudir á ello; en esta provincia hallamos gran cantidad de lino de Castilla, que parece se cria en los campos sin sembrallo, y nos dieron mucha noticia de lo que habia en estas provincias, donde está la dicha laguna grande, de como habian dado aquí al dicho Francisco Vazquez Coronado y á su gente, muchos metales, y que no los habian beneficiado por no tener aderez para ello; y en esta provincia de Cibola, en un pueblo que llaman Aquico, el dicho padre Fray Bernaldino y Miguel Sanchez Valenciano y su mujer Casilda de Anaya, y Lazaro Sanchez y Miguel Sanchez Nebado, sus hijos, y Gregorio Hernandez y Cristóbal Sanchez, é Joan de Frias, que iban en nuestra compañía, digeron que se querian volver á la Nueva Vizcaya, á donde habiamos salido, porque habian hallado, que Francisco Vazquez Coronado no habia hallado oro ni plata, y se habia vuelto; que tambien ellos

se querian volver como lo hicieron. Las costumbres y ritos son como los de las provincias que dejamos atrás, y tienen mucha caza, y vistense de mantas de algodón y de otras que parecen anejo aquí ~~tubimos~~ noticia de otra provincia que está hácia el Poniente, cuatro jornadas, de á siete leguas; y al fin dellas, hallamos una provincia que se llama Mohoce, con cinco pueblos, en que á nuestro parecer, hay mas de cincuenta mil ánimas; y antes que llegásemos á ella, nos embiaban á decir que no fuésemos allá, sino que nos matarían."

With the exception of the change in the name, Ami or Amé for Zuñi, the texts of both copies are alike. There are considerable variations, however, from Hakluyt's version, which I reject as unreliable and misleading.

¹ P. 182: ". . . yo con nueve compañeros que quedaron conmigo, que son Joan Lopez de Ibarra, Bernado de Luna, Diego Perez de Lujan y Gaspar de Luxan, Franco Barreto y Pedro Hernandez de Almansa, Alonso de Miranda y Gregorio Hernandez y Joan Fernandez, fuimos á la dicha provincia de Mohoce." . . . The word Mohoce is a Queres word. It is pronounced Mo-o-tzá.

among a native population of two or three thousand souls, for months, and go off on a hazardous journey hundreds of miles away. When he returned to Zuñi, however, he found there "the five companions whom I had left, and the said Father Fray Bernaldino, who had not yet departed with his companions. To all of them the Indians of the province had given what they needed for their sustenance, and with all of us they greatly rejoiced. The caciques came out to receive me and my companions; they gave us food and Indians as guides and carriers, and when we took leave of them they made many promises, telling us to return soon with many more Castillos (for so they call the Spaniards), and declaring that in anticipation of it they would sow much corn that year, so as to have food for all."¹

Espejo left Zuñi in the first half of the year 1583; the exact date of his arrival and departure are unknown to me.² Although reliable in a great many points, there is still about his narrative a certain doubt which might, unless for somebody who is well acquainted with New Mexico in general and the pueblos in particular, amount to a real cloud. It is his fabulous estimate of the population, almost in each and every case. We have seen that he gives the Zuñi-pueblos twenty thousand inhabitants! Moqui he endows with fifty thousand,³ Jemes with thirty thousand,⁴ Pecos with forty thousand,⁵ and so on. The exaggerations

¹ P. 184: "Llegado que fuí á la provincia de Zuñi, hallé en ella, los dichos compañeros que allí degé, y al dicho padre Fray Bernaldo, que aun no se habia vuelto con los compañeros; á todos los cuales, los Indios de aquella provincia, habian dado lo que para su sustento habian menester; y con todos nosotros se holgaron mucho, y á mi y mis compañeros nos salieron á recibir los caciques, y nos diéron muchos bastimentos é Indios para guias y cargas; y cuando dellos nos despedimos, hicieron muchos ofrecimientos, diciendo que volviésemos allá otra vez, y que llevásemos muchos Castillos; porque asi llaman á los Es-

pañoles; y que por esta causa sembraban mucho maiz, aquel año, para darles de comer á todos; y desde esta provincia, se volvió el dicho padre Fray Bernaldino, y las personas que con él habian quedado, y con ellos, Gregorio Hernandez."

² I am as yet unable to find either month or day, though I conjecture that he came to Zuñi in November or December, 1582.

³ P. 182.

⁴ P. 179.

⁵ P. 185. He calls the Pecos "Tamos." The identity of the Tamos with the Pecos is proven by the Journal of Oñate: *Dis-*

are manifest, and they tend to impair the reliability of his other statements. Nevertheless, they can be explained and Espejo relieved from the charge of willful misrepresentation.

I have already called attention to the fact that any Indian pueblo of New Mexico appears, at a distance, twice and even three times as large as it really is. This is a result of the peculiar architecture.¹ Espejo traveled rapidly through many tribes; he estimated the population of most of the villages from their appearance at a distance, and in this fact alone there was a source of involuntary exaggeration. But the main cause of his mistake lies in the manner in which the Indians received him. At the first villages he was met, not only by their inhabitants, but by as many as possible of the inhabitants of all the others pertaining to the same group.² Curiosity and suspicion caused the people to gather upon his passage and to stay around his camp in the pueblo as long as he remained. The same thing happens nowadays, whenever any considerable party of whites visits a pueblo. Had Espejo remained any length of time anywhere, he would have discovered the error and modified his estimates accordingly. But, with his rapid movements, he could not become enlightened. It is very likely that often more than one and even more than two thousand Indians gathered in one village to see him, and stayed there as long as he could himself. The number may easily have been greater on several occasions. He naturally assigned the number to that village alone, and then computed the numbers of the tribe upon this basis, judging of distant settlements by looks only. The extravagant population given by Espejo for the Indian pueblos of New Mexico is, therefore, no reflection upon his truthfulness in general. He was sincere, and is reliable in most of his statements.

Through his report we learn for the first time of a name which it is impossible not to recognize at once. "Aquico" stands in Espejo's

curso de las jornadas que hizo el campo de su magestad desde la Nueva España á la provincia de la Nueva México, 1599. (Doc. de Indias, xvi. p. 258.)

¹ I have alluded to this in the paper on the identity of Zuñi with Cibola.

² *Relacion*, p. 172.

writings for "Hauicu;" there can be no doubt about it. More valuable yet is his positive identification of Zuñi with Cibola! He says, not as Hakluyt's version has it, that the Spaniards *call* it so,¹ but positively that it is Cibola. He also informs us that Coronado had been there, and he found there the Indians from Mexico who remained after the departure of Coronado and his men. We know from Castañeda that such was the case, and that the place where those Indians remained was Cibola.² Furthermore, Espejo tells us that at Zuñi he heard of the expedition by Pedro de Tobar to the west, and of the trip on which the Spaniards were forced to return through want of water. This was the excursion made by Garcia-Lopez de Cardenas to the Colorado River of the West, and that excursion started from Cibola, passing through the Moqui pueblos.³ The evidence furnished by Espejo in favor of the identity of Zuñi with Cibola is undeniable. "Tusayan" must also be Moqui, as well as the "Asay" or "Osay" of Chamuscado.⁴

Espejo remarks, that the rites and customs of the Zuñi people were the same as those of the other New Mexican pueblos.

Speaking of the Rio Grande villages he remarks: "Now that we found ourselves in the aforesaid settlements, and traveling up the river, inside of two days we met ten occupied villages on the banks, and on both sides of them, at some distance, other pueblos, which appeared to contain over twelve thousand souls, — men, women, and children. While we were passing through this province the people of each village came out to receive us, they led us into them, and gave us a quantity of fowls of the country, also maize, beans, and tortillas, and other kinds of bread which they prepare in a different way from that of the Mexican people. They grind the corn on large stones, and grind it raw, five or six women doing the work together on one mill; and of this meal they make many different kinds of bread. The houses are of two, three, and four stories, with many apartments in each house. For winter-time they have estufas. In each one of the squares of the

¹ "y los Españoles la llaman Cibola."

² "y por otro nombre Cibola."

³ See the first part of this chapter.

⁴ It is the only cluster of pueblos northwest of Zuñi.

pueblo they have two estufas, which are houses built underground, very warm and closed, with seats within to lean against. At the entrance to each estufa there is a ladder which to descend, and great quantities of fire-wood, so that strangers might be comfortable there. In this province some of the natives dress in cotton, also in cow-skins and buckskins. The mantles they wear after the fashion of the Mexicans, with the exception that below the privy parts they wear a cotton handkerchief of many colors. Some also wear shirts, the women cotton skirts, many of which are embroidered with colored threads, over them a manta, like those of the Mexican women, tied with a handkerchief like an embroidered towel, which they fasten around the waist with tassels. The skirts serve as shirts, since they wear them on the body, . . . both men and women wear shoes and boots, the soles of which are of cow-hide and the uppers of buckskin. The women wear their hair well combed, and arranged on both sides of the head . . . otherwise they go bareheaded. Each pueblo has its caciques in proportion to the number of inhabitants. These caciques have their Tequitatos who are like Alguaziles, and execute in the village the orders of the caciques as among the Mexicans. When the Spaniards ask the caciques for anything, the latter call the Tequitatos or public criers, who publish the matter. Forthwith the people attend to it with celerity. The decorations of the houses, and other things for their dances, music as well as the rest, are like those of the Mexicans. They drink roasted pinole, which is parched corn in water, and apparently have no other beverage or anything intoxicating. In each of the pueblos there is a house where they feed the devil, keep small idols of stone, and practice idolatries. As the Spaniards place crosses along the roads, so these people erect from one pueblo to another, in the paths, little piles of stones like shrines, where they leave painted sticks and plumes saying, that here the demon comes to sit and talk to them. They plant maize, beans, calabashes, and picietl. They irrigate their fields, have large water-tanks, work their crops like the Mexicans, and each one has in his field a shed on four posts, to which he goes to eat and rest at noon ; for commonly they remain in the fields from morning till night.

. . . Their weapons are bows, arrows, clubs, and shields. The arrows are of sticks hardened by fire, the points are sharp flints which easily pass through a ["esta," — a word which I am unable to find]; the shields are of cow-hide, like targets, the clubs of wood, half an ell in length, very thick at one end." ¹

¹ *Relacion*, p. 172: "Ya que estabamos en las dichas poblaciones, prosiguiendo el dicho rio arriba, en dos dias, hallamos diez pueblos poblados, riberas de dicho rio y de una y de otra banda junto á él, demás destes pueblos, que parecian desviados, en que pasando por ellas parecia haber mas de doce mil ánimas, hombres y mujeres y niños; pasando por esta provincia, nos salieron á recibir de cada pueblo la gente dél y nos llevaban á ellos y nos daban cantidad de gallinas de la tierra, y maiz y frisol y tortillas y otras maneras de pan que hacen con mas curiosidad que la gente mexicana; muelen en piedras muy crecidas y muelen maiz crudo, cinco ó seis mugeres juntas en un molino, y desta harina hacen muchas diferencias de pan; tienen casas de dos y tres y cuatro altos y con muchos aposentos en cada casa, y en muchas casas dellas, tienen sus estufas para tiempo de invierno; y en las plazas de los pueblos en cada una dos estufas que son unas casas hechas debajo de la tierra, muy abrigadas y cercadas de poyos, dentro dellas para asentarse; y asimismo tienen á la puerta de cada estufa una escalera para abajar, y gran cantidad de leña de comunidad, para allí se recojan los forasteros; en esta provincia se visten algunos de los naturales, de mantas de algodón y cueros de las vacas, y de gamuzas aderezadas; y las mantas de algodón las traen puestas al uso mexicano, eceto que debajo de partes vergonzosas traen unos paños de algodón

pintados, y algunos dellos traen camisas, y las mugeres traen naguas de algodón y muchas dellas bordadas con hilo de colores, y encima una manta como la traen los Indios mexicanos, y atada con un paño de manos como toalla labrada, y se lo atan por la cintura con sus borlas, y las naguas son que sirven de faldas de camisa á raíz de las carnes, y esto cada uno lo trae con la mas ventaja que puede; y todos, así hombres como mujeres, andan calzados con zapatos y botas, las suelas de cuero de vacas, y lo de encima de cuero de venado aderezado; las mugeres traen el cabello muy peinado y bien puesto y con sus mol-des que traen en la cabeza uno de una parte y otro de otra, á donde ponen el cabello con curiosidad sin traer nengun tocado en la cabeza; tienen en cada pueblo sus caciques á la gente que hay en cada pueblo; así hay los caciques, y dichos caciques tienen sus tequitatos que son como alguaziles que executan en el pueblo lo que estos caciques mandan, ni mas ni menos que la gente mexicana; y en pidiendo los Españoles á los caciques de los pueblos cualquier cosa, llaman ellos á los tequitatos y los tequitatos publican por el pueblo, á voces, lo que piden; y luego acuden con lo que se les manda, con mucha brevedad; tienen todas las pinturas de sus casas y otras cosas que tienen para bailar y danzar, así en la música como en lo demas, muy al natural de los mexicanos; beben pinole tostado, ques maiz tostado y molido

He mentions idols in several other places,¹ and while at Acoma he describes a dance recalling the Snake-dance of the Moquis.²

We are reminded here of many present customs of the pueblo Indians. In fact, many of the points noticed by Espejo are found rather among the Zuñis to-day than among the villagers on the Rio Grande. The latter have suffered greater changes, their mode of living is not any longer as primitive as that of the Zuñis.

y hechado en agua, no se sabe que tengan otra bebida ni con que se emborrachen ; tienen en cada uno destos pueblos una casa donde llevan de comer al demonio, y tienen idolos de piedra pequeños donde idolatran ; y como los Españoles tienen cruces en los caminos, ellos tienen en medio de un pueblo á otro en medio del camino, unos cuizillos á manera de humilladeros hecho de piedras donde ponen palos pintados y plumas, diciendo, va allí á reposar el demonio y á hablar con ellos ; tienen sementeras de maiz, frisol y calabaza, y piciete, que es una yerva muy sana ; y de todo esto hay sementeras de riego y de temporal con muy buenas sacas de agua y que lo labran como los mexicanos ; y cada uno en su sementera tiene un portal con cuatro pilares donde le llevan de comer á medio dia y para la siesta, porque de ordinario están en sus sementeras desde la mañana hasta la noche á uso de Castilla ; en esta provincia alcanzan muchos montes de pinales que dan piñones como los de Castilla, y muchas salinas de una parte y de otra del rio, hay mas de una legua y mas de cada banda de arenales, natural tierra para coger mucho maiz ; tienen por armas arcos y flechas, macanas y chimales, que las flechas son de varas tostadas y las puntas dellas de pedernal esquinadas, que con ellas facilmente

pasan una cota ; y los chimales, son de cueros de vacas como adargas, y las macanas son un palo de media vara de largo, y al cabo dél, muy gordo, con que se defienden en estando dentro de sus casas."

I have copied the text of Espejo's report as reproduced in the *Expediente*. It will be easy to notice the few differences between it and the text of the other copy, which I have translated. What remains unintelligible in the latter : the word "Esta," which is here "cota," a coat of mail or armor in general, is perfectly plain. There are two expressions, also, taken from the Nahuatl-language of Mexico, which I have not translated. "Tequitato" or Tequitlato : he who assesses tribute, also the public crier. "Picietl" is a small plant used in Mexico as a vegetable, and also for medicinal purposes. Alguazil is a Spanish word equivalent to the English constable, an executive officer. Cuizillo comes from "Cu," a Maya-word for place of worship or sacred hillock.

¹ At the pueblos of the Rio Grande, Queres, p. 178. At Jemez, p. 179.

² P. 179 : "hicieron nos un mitote y baile muy solemne, saliendo la gente muy galana y haciendo muchos juegos de manos, algunos dellos, artificios con vivoras vivas, que era cosa de ver lo uno y lo otro."

I have purposely copied from Espejo's report the tales which were given him concerning the great lagune "sixty days' journey" from Cibola, and about the large settlements and treasures of gold and silver found in its vicinity. These tales do not, as might be supposed, refer to an unknown country, although Espejo understood it so. They are simply recollections of what the Zuñis had heard, from the Spaniards as well as from the Mexican Indians who came with Coronado, about Mexico, the valley, and its great natural pond. It is an instructive illustration of how, in the first place, tales of foreign countries become fastened upon the mind of the aborigine, and, secondly, of how often such tales, which properly related to countries whence the Spaniards came, induced explorers to run after phantoms. Had Fray Beltran not remonstrated, Espejo would have gone in search of the lagune in the northwest, and might have found the great Utah Salt Lake, but neither wealth nor pueblos. In all likelihood he would have found death lurking on his path, — death from hunger, thirst, or from hostile roaming natives. Still that tale, borrowed from the time of Coronado, and relating to the valley of Mexico, has been incorporated in subsequent reports as a piece of genuine information derived from actual knowledge possessed by the Indians of Zuñi.¹

The further career of Espejo is well known. He returned to Santa Barbara by way of the Pecos River.² He did not make, and would not make, any settlement in New Mexico at that time.³ The stories about his founding Santa Fé in 1583 are inventions. But upon his return, he submitted to the crown a proposal for settling the new country, which proposal could not be considered, since he died soon after. In this document he contemplates the foundation of a colony at Acoma! Not a word is spoken about the region where Santa Fé now stands, except that a reconnoissance should be made of the country of the "Maguas," — these were the Tanos, on whose range Santa Fé was subsequently established.⁴

¹ For instance, according to Fray Gerónimo de Zárate-Salmeron, *Relaciones de todas las cosas*, etc. (MS. 102, 103).

² *Relacion del Viage*, p. 186.

³ *Idem*, p. 187.

⁴ *Expediente y Relacion del Vinje que hizo Antonio de Espejo*, 1584 (*Doc. de Indias*, xv. pp. 156, 157).

No further visit to Zuñi appears in the Spanish annals until the close of the year 1598. Twice the Spaniards made dashes into New Mexico, between the time of Espejo's return and that year; but neither Gaspar Castaño de Sosa on his unauthorized foray, nor the raid of Leyva and Humaña, touched Zuñi. Castaño went only as far north as Santo Domingo, where he was arrested by order of the viceroy, and brought back in irons.¹ The fate of Leyva and Humaña was decided on the great eastern plains, whence they never returned.² But after Juan de Oñate, having at last obtained permission to move from the mines of Caxco with his body of soldiers and colonists, entered New Mexico by the Rio Grande route and established his headquarters at the Tehua village of "Oj-Que," or San Juan, in August, 1598,³ the time had come when the invitations extended by the Zuñis to Espejo and the Spaniards in general—to stay among them permanently—were to be realized. New Mexico was now included among the Spanish possessions *de facto*, not merely *de jure*, as it had been heretofore, and the pueblo Indians became direct vassals of the crown of Spain. How this happened in regard to Zuñi I shall now consider.

All the Spanish explorers previous to Oñate had limited themselves to taking possession of the country in general. Oñate went through the same formality on the banks of the Rio Grande, south of El Paso del Norte.⁴ When he reached the Queres village of Santo Domingo

¹ *Memoria del descubrimiento que Gaspar Castaño de Sosa ; hizo en el Nuevo Mexico, 1592 (Doc. de Indias, xv.).*

² In regard to the expedition of Leyva-Bonilla and Humaña, great obscurity still prevails. I have been able to fix the date approximately at 1595. They moved up on the east side of the Rio Grande valley, in the plains, and out of sight of the pueblos. A prairie fire, probably kindled by the Indians, destroyed the whole party, with the exception of three, only one of whom was ever seen by the Spaniards thereafter.

³ *Discurso de las Jornadas*, p. 262.

It was on the 11th of August, 1598, that work was commenced on the Spanish settlement at San Gabriel, where now is the station of Chamita on the D. & R. G. R. R. On the 23d work was begun on the church, which was finished on the 7th of September.

⁴ On the 30th of April. *Discurso*, p. 242. Also, *Traslado de la Posesion que en nombre de su Magestad tomó Don Joan de Oñate ; de los Reynos y Provincias de la Nueva México (Doc. de Indias, xvi. pp. 88, 101).*

or "Gui-pu-y," he found it necessary to tie each tribe by a special act of allegiance to Spain. Of these documents there are seven, and among them one executed at Zuñi. The tenor of all is substantially alike; but the two first ones, the one at Santo Domingo, dated 7th of July, 1598, and the one at San Juan, dated 9th of September, the same year, differ from the others inasmuch as they include a number of pueblos speaking distinct idioms, and are thus in a measure collective acts. Thus at Santo Domingo there were present, in addition to the Queres, representatives of the Rio Grande Tiguas, of the Jemez, and of Cia. The text of the documents says: —

"All the aforesaid chiefs of the different nations were called and assembled by the aforesaid Governor Don Joan de Oñate; and, after having heard mass with his lordship, they were summoned to appear before him in the principal estufa of the aforesaid pueblo, and before me Joan Perez de Donis, royal notary, and secretary of the government of the said kingdoms and provinces, and by means of Joan del Caso, interpreter in the Mexican tongue, and of the persons of Don Thomas and Don Christobal, Indian interpreters of the languages which the aforesaid natives use in these provinces, after having placed them under oath and made the other acts touching the fidelity of the said interpreters, he declared and proposed to the said chiefs the end and object of his coming, saying, that he was sent by the most powerful king and monarch of the world called Don Phelipe, King of Spain, who, being desirous of serving God our Lord and of saving their souls, and also wishing to have them for his vassals and to protect them and secure them in justice as he had done in the case of all other natives of the Indies, east and west, had sent him hither from distant lands at heavy cost and with much difficulty. Now, then, since he had come for this purpose, as they now saw, it behooved them and was very important to them, that they should, out of their free will and for themselves and in the name of their villages and commonwealths, give obeisance and take allegiance unto the aforesaid King Don Phelipe our lord, from which great benefits would arise to them, living in peace and justice, protected from their enemies, with a rational govern-

ment and improvements in arts and trades, in crops and in flocks; to which all answered, through the aforesaid interpreters, unanimously, of common consent and with many demonstrations of pleasure, so that it was plain that the coming of his lordship and his will as freely expressed, caused them satisfaction. They said that they desired to become vassals of the aforesaid Most Christian King our lord, and that as such they forthwith gave obedience and took allegiance to him, and the said lord governor replied, that they should ponder it well, that by taking allegiance and becoming vassals it meant to subject themselves to his will and to his commands and laws, so that in case they should not obey these, they would be punished severely as transgressors of the commandments of their king and lord, that, therefore, they should consider well what they wanted and answer. To this they replied that they understood and wished to take allegiance to his majesty, and to be his vassals, that they spoke sincerely, having conferred several times among themselves and with their people. And the said lord governor again told them about his coming in the name of the aforesaid king our lord, and that since they took allegiance and became his vassals of their own free will, they having seen that he did them no harm nor permitted his soldiers to harm them, they should kneel down and give obeisance and acknowledge allegiance to, and in the name of, his majesty, in token that they and the Spaniards were henceforth but one, and vassals of one and the same king.”¹

¹ *Obediencia y Vasallaje á su Magestad por los Indios de Santo Domingo*, 7th of July, 1598 (*Doc. de Indias*, xvi. pp. 103, 104): “Todos los sobredichos capitanes de las diferentes naciones llamados y congregados por el sobredicho Señor Gobernador Don Joan de Oñate, y despues de haber oido Su Señoría, missa, los fizo parecer en su presencia en la Estufa mayor de este sobredicho pueblo, y ante mi Joan Perez de Donis escribano de su Magestad Real y secretario de Gubernacion de los dichos Reynos y Provincias;

y por medio y lengua de Joan del Caso, barahena en la lengua mexicana, y de las personas de Don Thomas y Don Chripstóbal, Indios interpretes de las lenguas que los sobredichos naturales usan en estas provincias; despues de haberles tomado juramento hechas las diligencias á la fidelidad de los dichos interpretes, requisitas declaró y propuso á los sobredichos capitanes, el intento y fin de su venida, diciendo:—

“Como él era imbiado del mas poderoso Rey y Monarca del Mundo llamado

The documents close with an exhortation to become baptized, etc. They prove, that the pueblo Indians took the oath of allegiance to the Spanish crown consciously, knowing what it meant and implied!

There appear to have been no Zuñis at the Santo Domingo meeting. But at San Juan it is possible that they were represented. At least, the Acomas took part in it, and there is a direct mention made of Zuñi.¹

Don Phelipe Rey de España, él que con deseo del servicio de Dios Nuestro Señor y de la salvacion de sus almas, principalmente; y assí mismo de tenerlos por sus vasallos y ampararlos y mantenerlos en justicia como á todos los demas naturales de las Indias Orientales y Occidentales, habia hecho y hacia; y que á este fin los habia ymbiado de tan lejas tierras á las suyas, con excesivos gastos y grandes trabajos; y que assi, pues, á esto era venido como vian, les convenia muy mucho é importaba que de su propia mera y libre voluntad, por sí y en nombre de sus pueblos y republicas como principales capitanes que eran dellas, dar la obediencia y vasallaje al sobre dicho Rey Don Phelipe Nuestro Señor, y quedar por sus subditos y vasallos como lo habian hecho los Reynos de México, Descues, Mecchoacan, Tlaxcala, Guatemala y otros, de donde se les seguiria vivir en paz y justicia, y amparados de sus enemigos, y en pulicía racional, y aprovechados en oficios y artes, y en semillas y ganados; á lo qual, todos respondieron mediante las dichas lenguas unánimes y de comun consentimiento y con mucha demostracion de alegría; á lo que notoriamente se via y entendia que tenian mucho contento con la venida de su Señoría y de un acuerdo y deliberacion espontánea de su voluntad, dixieron: que querian ser vasallos del dicho crixtinisimo Rey Nuestro Señor, y como tales,

desde luego le daban la obediencia y vasallaje; y el dicho Señor Gobernador les replicó, que mirasen y entendiesen que el dar la obediencia y vasallaje al Rey Nuestro Señor, era sujetarse á su voluntad y á sus mandamientos y leyes, y que sino los guardasen, serian castigados asperamente como transgresores á los mandamientos de su Rey y Señor; y que ansi, viesen lo que querian y respondian á esto; á lo qual dixeron, que yá lo entendian y que querian dar la obediencia á su Magestad, y ser sus vasallos; y que ellos ablaban verdad, y que aquello decian sin engaño y sin hablar otra cosa detras; y esto habiendose ablado durante esta plática, algunas veces entre si mismo, con sus macequales, á los que les tornó á decir el dicho Señor Gobernador, que él venia en nombre del sobre dicho Rey Nuestro Señor, y que pues le daban la obediencia y vasallaje de su libre voluntad y habian visto que él no les habia hecho mal ninguno ni consentido que sus soldados lo hiciesen, que en señal de que todos eran unos, los Españoles y ellos, y vasallos de un Rey, se incasen de rodillas y le diesen la dicha obediencia y vasallaje en nombre de su Magestad; y á esto tornaron á responder, que así era verdad y lo habian visto y experimentado; y luego se levantaron y empezaron á incar las rodillas en el suelo delante del dicho Señor Gobernador."

¹ *Obediencia y Vasallaje á su Mage-*

The gathering on the 9th of September, 1598, in the principal estufa of the village of San Juan was by far the most important one. Its purpose was, to have the allegiances received previously at Santo Domingo ratified,¹ and the whole territory divided into parochial districts, properly as many Missions, in the presence and with the consent of the natives. In order that the Indians should come, Oñate sent a messenger, with a friendly address from himself, to the tribes of the Tiguas, Queres, Tehuas, Pecos, Picuries, and Taos.² Delegates of all these pueblos were, therefore, present,³ but the Zuñis are not mentioned as having been represented officially. Neither is Acoma; still the fact, that Indians, even influential members of the pueblo, were at San Juan is asserted by Captain Gaspar Perez de Villagran, an eye-witness and confidential officer of Oñate.⁴ The whole territory of New Mexico and northern Arizona occupied (as far as known at that time) by sedentary aborigines became thus divided into seven ~~parishes~~ or mission districts,⁵ Zuñi, under the misspelling of "Truni," being assigned to Fray Andrés Corchado. The paper reads: "To the Father Fray Andrés Corchado, the province of the Trias and the villages of Tamaya, Yacco, Tojagua, and Pelchiu, together with the province of Acoma with its surrounding pueblos and neighbors, also

stad por los Indios del Pueblo de San Juan Baptista, 9th of September, 1598 (*Doc. de Indias*, xvi.).

¹ *Idem*, p. 109: "parescera tornó segunda vez hacer general junta de las provincias hasta agora descubiertas, que las tiene tan sosegadas y sugetas."

² *Idem*: "que con solo un mensagero indio y un librillo de memorias suyo personal acudieron luego todos á su mando y llamamiento."

³ "y á nueve del mes de Septiembre deste año de noventa y ocho, ayuntó los Indios capitanes de las provincias de los Chiguas y Puaray de los Cherechos, de los Teguas, de los Pecos, de los Picuries y de

los Taos; y alguna cantidad de sus maceguals en la Estruza mayor de este Pueblo y Valle de Sant Joan Batista."

⁴ *Historia de la Nueva México*, 1610 (Canto XVI. fol. 143): —

"Á muchos braves baruaros que auian,
Venido por espías á espiarnos.
Y á ver las fuerças y armas que alcançauan,
Allí los Españoles cuio brio,
De ninguna nacion fué mas notado,
Como despues veremos adelante,
Que de la fuerça de Acoma tuuo,
Entre nosotros una grande espia,
Que muy larga razon lleuó de todo."

⁵ *Obediencia y Vasallaje . . . de San Juan Baptista*, pp. 113–115; Villagran, *Historia*, etc., fol. 156.

the province of Truni and the province of Mohoce with all its pueblos, all of which lie to the west of the great pueblo of Tria."¹

There is another misspelling in the case of Tria. It should be Cia, or rather Tzia, whence the mistake arose in copying from the original, "Tz" being changed into "Tr." A still more peculiar error has occurred in the case of Acoma. This pueblo appears twice. First as "Yacco" ("Y", "and" in Spanish, and "acco"), and under its proper name. The same occurs in regard to Zuñi, and in this same document. Fray Juan Claros is assigned to the Rio Grande Tiguas, and "besides, the province of Xalay, the province of Mohoqui with its pueblos."² Thus Zuñi, under the name given to it by the Tiguas, which is "Xaray," is assigned to one precinct, and under the name of "Truni" to another.

Such confusions have frequently occurred, and in the enumerations of pueblos in early documents we must always look for the same village under various names, according to the language of the tribe from which the Spaniards derived their information.

Zuñi thus became endowed with a priest, or rather with two at once. But I may as well state here that, owing to the immense territory which each mission embraced, the appointment of a minister remained purely nominal in the beginning. Besides, circumstances, to which I shall refer in the next chapter, made it impossible for missionaries to attend to their distant missions. Neither Fray Andrés Corchado nor Fray Juan Claros ever resided in any of the Zuñi villages. I do not even find any evidence of their having visited them. The ten priests who accompanied Oñate were employed elsewhere by him, to their own great disgust and to the detriment of the Indians. They saw nothing of their missions, excepting those who were assigned to pueblos in the

¹ *Obediencia* [ut supra]: "Al Padre Fray Andrés Corchado, la Provincia de los Trias . . . y la Provincia de Truni, y la provincia de Mohoce con todos sus Pueblos, que todos caen al Poniente del gran Pueblo de Tria."

² *Idem*: "Al Padre Fray Joan Claros, . . . y mas, la Provincia de Xalay, la Provincia de Mohoqui con sus pueblos."

vicinity of San Juan. This first religious organization was, therefore, only a provisional arrangement, which made no impression upon the villages in the extreme west, such as Acoma, Zuñi, and the Moquis.

After this second gathering and council with the pueblo Indians, Oñate determined to visit the whole territory, repeating the same formula of allegiance as often as possible in all the leading villages and tribes. He set out accordingly from his camp, which was at the same time the first Spanish establishment in New Mexico, and lay directly opposite San Juan, on the delta between the confluence of the Rio Grande with the Chama,¹ on the 6th of October, 1598, for Pecos,² thence to the Salines about the Manzano,³ thence to the Rio Grande at Puaray,⁴ and from Puaray to Acoma, where he arrived on the 25th of the same month,⁵ leaving this place soon after for Zuñi. The journal of his march describes the route very clearly: —

“From the rock of Acoma, traveling to Juni and Mohoce . . . it is four leagues to the source of Bad News River.”⁶

“To the spring of the rock, eight leagues.”

“To the brook that runs to Juni, four leagues, — here there are three ruined pueblos.”

¹ The first settlement of the Spaniards in New Mexico was made near where the station of Chamita is now, opposite the Indian pueblo of San Juan.

² *Discurso de las Jornadas*, p. 266.

³ *Idem*; also: *Obediencia y Vasallaje á su Magestad por los Indios del Pueblo de Acolocú*; and *Obediencia*. . . . *del Pueblo de Cuéloce*. Both documents are in the collection of the Indies, vol. xvi. The first bears the date of 12th of October, the second 17th of October, 1598.

⁴ *Discurso*, p. 267.

⁵ *Idem*.

⁶ *Idem*, p. 274: “Del Peñol de Acoma, caminando á Juni y Mohoce, provincias de muy buenos Indios, ay quatro leguas al nacimiento del Rio de la Mala nueva.”

“Al agua de la Peña, ocho leguas.”

“Al manantial que va á Juni, quatro leguas.”

“Al primer pueblo de Juni, tres leguas.”

I cannot easily identify the points indicated on this route. It appears to me that Oñate was led, or followed, a direct trail, with which I am unacquainted. But when he reaches “the source that goes to Juni,” it is evident that he means the Zuñi River, and the three ruins noticed along the stream are easily recognized. The “River of Bad News” was called thus because on its banks he received the dismal report about the massacre at Acoma.

“To the first village of Juni, three leagues.”

The three ruined villages along the Rio de Zuñi are those between Pescado and the Zuñi basin, and the first Zuñi pueblo was “Matzaqui,” as at the time of Coronado it was the last one which the Spaniards, coming from Haucicu, were wont to meet.

The journal says: “Here they received our people very well; it is a country with a good deal of game; there are crosses from times past to which the Indians offer devotion and sacrifices, as well as to their idols. Here were found children of the Mexican Indians whom Coronado left there.”¹

Villagran has left us a more elaborate description of the reception afforded Oñate by the Zuñis, but this description is in verse, and more valuable for its contents than for its poetic merit. I do not attempt any direct translation, therefore, but limit myself to giving the substance of the cumbersome rhyme.²

The Indians of Zuñi came out to receive Oñate at some distance from the first village. They carried sacred meal, and sprinkled it over the Spaniards, and as the troop entered the pueblo, the women did the same from the tops of the roofs. They threw such quantities of flour to the men that the latter had to protect themselves. Afterwards the Spaniards were treated to the food of the country, and when the feast was over, Oñate caused a big cross to be erected in the square of the pueblo. Mass was said, and then the Indians invited their visitors to a grand hunt, on the plain of the Zuñi basin. Villagran says that

¹ “Allí recibieron muy bien á los nuestros, con todo lo necessario; es tierra de mucha caza, ay cruces de dias atras, á quien los Indios tienen devocion, y ofrescen lo que á sus ídolos; allí se hallaron hijos de los Indios mexicanos que allí dexó Coronado.” We have a confirmation of this fact in the whole series of writers from Castañeda on. The latter says that Coronado left the Indians at Cibola, Espejo found them at Zuñi forty years later, and


Oñate met their children still at the same place.

² The book contains very heavy, nay clumsy, poetry. Still it is exceedingly valuable. Villagran was an execrable poet, but a reliable historian as far as he saw and took part in the events himself. His narration of the tragedy at Acoma and of the recapture of the pueblo is too Homeric altogether; but in this he followed the style of the period.

over eight hundred men took part in it. These divided into two parties, each one forming an arc of a circle. In this manner the game was fully encompassed and driven gradually towards the centre, where the Spaniards on horseback were clustered together as spectators. The results of this butchery were eighty hares, thirty-four rabbits, and a large number of smaller carnivorous animals. The game was offered to the guests, who, of course, found it delicious. Returning to the pueblo, Oñate sent one of his officers to the South with orders to examine and report upon the salt marshes,¹ while he proceeded to the formality of receiving the oath of allegiance from the Zuñi people.

¹ *Historia de la Nueva Mexico* (Canto XVIII. fol. 162, etc.) : —

“Con esto se partió de aquella fuerza,
 Passando á Mochoce, Zibola, y Zuñi,
 Por cuias nobles tierras descubrimos,
 Una gran tropa de Indios que venia,
 Con cantidad harina que esparcian,
 Sobre la gente toda muy apriessa,
 Y entrando assi en los pueblos las mujeres,
 Dieron en arrojarlos tanta della,
 Que dimos en tomarles los costales,
 De donde resultó tener con ellas
 Unas carnestolendas bien reñidas,
 De grande passatiempo muy trabadas,
 Y luego que cansados ubo pazes,
 Entre ellas y nosotros, por concierto,
 Con sumo regocijo nos traxeron,
 A todos que comer en abundancia.
 Y estando assi comiendo nos dixerón,
 Que aquella cerimonia se hazia,
 Por darnos á entender con mas certeza
 Que assi como no puede ser que el hombre
 Pueda passar viuiendo alegremente,
 Aquella vida triste sin sustento,
 Que assi no era possible que passasen,
 Sin sernos siempre amigos verdaderos,
 Y viendo que una cruz allí arbolamos
 Como nosotros la adoraron.
 Al General y á todos combidaron,
 Para una ilustre caza que hazian,
 Y dandoles en esto tanto gusto,
 Tomamos los cauallos y partimos,
 Y llegado al pueblo estauan juntos,

Mas de ochocientos baruarios amigos,
 Y assi como nos vieron arrancaron,
 Haziendo dos grandiosas medias lunas,
 Y cerrando los cuernos se mostraron,
 En circulo redondo tan tendidos,
 Que espacio de una legua rodeauan, 
 De sola trauesia, y en el medio
 Con toda nuestra esquadra nos tuuimos,
 Y luego que empezaron el ogeo,
 Cerrando todo el circulo vinieron,
 A meter donde juntos nos quedamos,
 Tantas liebres, conejos, y raposos,
 Que entre los mismos piés de los canallos,
 Pensaban guarecerse, y socorrerse,
 Bien quisieron algunos por su gusto,
 Andar allí á las bueltas con la caza,
 Y dar á los raposos ciertos golpes,
 Mas fué mandato expreso que ninguno,
 Dexase de estar bien apercebido,
 Los piés en los estribos con cuidado,
 Por no saber de cierto si sus pechos,
 Fuessen tan buenos, nobles, y cenizillos,
 Como ordinariamente se mostraron,
 En esta alegre caza vimos muertas,
 Largas ochenta liebres muy hermosas,
 Treinta y quatro conejos, y no cuento,
 Los raposos que allí tambien juntaron,
 Y no sé yo que tenga todo el mundo,
 Liebres de mas buen gusto, y mas sabrosas,
 Mas crecidas, mas bellas, ni mas tiernas,
 Que esta tierra produce, y sus contornos,
 Con esto se boluieron para el pueblo,
 Y luego al Capitan Farfan mandaron,
 Que fuesse á descubrir ciertas salinas,

On the ninth day of November, 1598, the "Act of obedience and vassalage, by the Indians of the Province of Aguscobi" was executed in the pueblo of Hauicu [Aguicobi]. There were present on the Spanish side Oñate himself, Fray Alonso Martinez, Commissary of the Franciscan order in New Mexico and head of the missionaries who had accompanied the expedition, Cristobal de Oñate the governor's son, the captains Villagran and Cessar, etc. On the side of the Zuñis there were in attendance a number of people, and conspicuous among them were "Negua Homi and Atishoa," said to be chiefs of the six villages called "Aguicobi, Canabi, Coaqueria, Halonagu, Macaqui, Aquinsa."¹

In other respects the document does not differ from the preceding ones. The speech that Oñate made to the Indians was interpreted by the Tano Indian called Don Thomas, and it is certified to by Juan Velarde as secretary.² Of the contents of this document, what is of most value to us are the names of the pueblos enumerated. We find here for the first time the villages of Cibola with their original names! They are easy to recognize, — "Aguicobi" is Hauicu, "Coaqueria" is Quiaquima, "Macaqui" is Matzaqui. Then we have "Halonagu," or Halona-quin (on the site of which the present Zuñi is built), and "Aquinsa," or A-pinaua (three miles southwest of Zuñi and in ruins). "Canabi" has also been identified by Mr. Cushing; but there are only six, whereas Coronado found seven! We must remember that Chamuscado mentions six also, and even Espejo gives the same number. The document of Oñate has greater weight than reports of transient

De que grande noticia se tenia,
Y poniendo por obra aquel mandato,
Con presta diligencia, y buen cuidado,
En brebe dió la buelta, y dixo dellos,
Que eran tan caudalosas, y tan grandes,
Que por espacio de una legua larga,
Mostraua toda aquella sal de grueso,
Una muy larga pica bien tendida."

Discurso, p. 274: "Desde allí, se descubrió, nueve leguas hacia Oriente, la salina de Grano, famossa."

¹ *Obediencia y Vasallaje á su Magestad por los Indios de la Provincia de Aguscobi*

(*Doc. de Indias*, xvi., lxvi. p. 133). "Negua homi y Atishoa, capitanes que dixieron ser de los seis pueblos que llaman Agucobi, Canabi, Halonagu, Macaqui, Aquinsa."

² *Idem*: "Y ante mi Joan Velarde, Secretario, y por medio y lengua del sobre dicho, Comisario, y Don Thomas, Indio interprete, dió á entender Su Señoría el Señor Gobernador, el intento de su venida, á los sobre dichos capitanes y lo que les convenia hacer, diciendo."

explorers. It is an official list of all the villages inhabited by the people of Zuñi at the end of the sixteenth century. On the other hand, we can scarcely doubt the evidence furnished by the chroniclers of Coronado, that in 1540 there were seven. I therefore consider it as probable that one village was abandoned within forty years after Coronado's departure, not in consequence of the Spaniards, but owing to circumstances of which we have no means to ascertain as yet.

From Zuñi, Oñate pushed on to the Moquis. His stay at Hauicu was short, for on the fifteenth day of November we find him at Ahuatu, which he calls "Aguatuya."¹ Upon his return he passed through the Zuñi villages again, in December, and probably about the 10th of the month. In the mean time, the Indians of Acoma had treacherously murdered the Maestre de Campo, Don Juan de Zalvivar, and fourteen men, who were following Oñate's troop with orders to rejoin them at Zuñi.² Had it not been for the information which Oñate received ~~at ten~~ leagues west of Acoma,³ he would also have fallen into a trap disastrous to himself and his people. But he was warned in time, and returned to San Gabriel by a circuitous route, avoiding the dangerous rock and its hostile inhabitants.⁴ The storming of Acoma by Vicente de Zaldivar in January, 1599,⁵ put an end to the insurrection which otherwise might have spread to all the other pueblos, Zuñi included, and the punishment inflicted upon the Acoma people, severe as it was, was by no means in excess of their crime and of the military necessity thereby created.⁶

¹ *Obediencia y Vasallaje*, etc., etc., *de la Provincia de Mohoqui* (*Idem*, xvi. p. 137).

² *Discurso*, p. 268. On the 4th of December.

³ *Idem*, p. 269.

⁴ *Idem*. He arrived at San Juan on the 21st of December.

⁵ *Idem*, pp. 370. The assault lasted three days, the pueblo being finally taken on the 24th of January. It was one of the boldest undertakings of the sixteenth

century. Zaldivar had hardly seventy Spaniards, all told. The Indians fought desperately.

⁶ It was the intention of the Acomas to slaughter Oñate and his whole corps, after they had voluntarily taken allegiance, which ceremony was performed at the foot of the formidable rock. Oñate was to have been enticed into a dark estufa and there secretly dispatched. The plan is exposed in full by Villagran, *Historia*, Canto XVII. fol. 160, and Canto XXI. fol. 185.

The swift chastisement of the Indians of Acoma placed Spanish domination in New Mexico on a firm basis. That the apparently impregnable rock was taken by assault made the whites invincible in the eyes of all the pueblos. It did not render the vanquished tribe any more accessible to European influence, however. Cowed, but not convinced, the Acomas maintained an attitude which rendered any attempt to approach them very uncomfortable, until the heroic efforts of a Franciscan priest opened, not only their village, but also their hearts, to Christianity.¹ Their hostility until then made it also difficult to approach Zuñi. This and the limited number of missionaries in the distant and unpromising North, together with the designs of Oñate upon Quivira and the quarrels arising from his attempts to reach it, to the detriment of the colony near San Juan, caused the mission of Zuñi to remain without a minister in the sixteenth century.² The Zuñis had been baptized in part, but that was all. They were nominally vassals of Spain. It is in the seventeenth century that the Spaniards, and chiefly the missionaries, obtained a permanent foothold at Cibola-Zuñi. With the close of the sixteenth century I have also reached the limits of this chapter; subsequent events may be foreshadowed in it, but not described in detail.

It failed owing to the prudence displayed by Oñate, but Juan de Zaldivar, feeling perfectly secure, was butchered while on the rock and in the houses of the pueblo. On the part of the Acomas, it was an act of unpardonable treachery, for the Spaniards had given them no cause for complaint whatever, and they had allured them by offering to take allegiance to the crown of Spain.

¹ Fray Juan Ramirez was the apostle to the Acomas. He went there in 1629, alone, without escort, ascended the rock and remained there, in spite of the hostility of its inhabitants. He caused the first church to be built, and had it built

by the Indians themselves. Vetancurt, *Menologio*, p. 247, and Fray Alonso de Benavides, *Memorial*, 1630, p. 32, fix the date.

² There is no trace of permanent residence of a priest among the Zuñis until the period when Fray Alonso de Benavides became custodian of New Mexico, or rather after 1628, when Fray Estevan de Perea brought quite a number of missionaries with him into the country. *Menologio*, p. 52, and Benavides, *Memorial*, p. 33. I shall mention this at length in the next chapter, as well as the troubles caused by Oñate's headless enterprise and injudicious conduct towards the clergy.

CHAPTER III.

ZUÑI IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

[SECTION I. 1599-1680.]

THE almost total destruction of the archives in New Mexico by the Indians, in 1680,¹ and the neglect of what remained or was created after the reconquest, which neglect is usually attributed to the representatives of the American government,² renders it impossible to write a complete history of any part of the territory without a thorough study of Spanish archives. Until a work, similar to that which I have undertaken at Mexico, is performed also at Sevilla and Madrid, whole periods of the past of New Mexico must remain obscure. This is particularly the case with the seventeenth century, previous to the great

¹ The loss was almost complete. I have been able to secure one original document from 1643, and there are three more at the Archives. This loss is lamented in 1691 by the Provincial of the Franciscan order in Mexico: Fray Diego Truxillo, *Relacion Jurada . . . al exmo Sr. Virey Conde de Galve (Doc. para la Hist. de México, Segunda Série, vol. i. p. 99)*: "No tengo instrumento alguno autorizado que poder presentar porque todos los que tenia dicha custodia se perdieron con la perdida del Nuevo México en la sublevacion de los Indios." The documents prior to 1680, excepting the few I found at Mexico, must be looked for in Spain and at Rome, provided always that the vandalism displayed by the Italian government in scattering the convent libraries and ar-

chives has not destroyed also those of the Franciscan order.

² In 1870, under the administration of Governor Pyle, afterwards United States minister to Venezuela. How far Governor Pyle is responsible exclusively for the dispersion of the territorial archives, I have not as yet been able to ascertain. But the fact that, with his knowledge and consent, wagon loads of papers were sold for trifles, thrown away, and even burned, is stated here by numerous parties who were contemporaries, and even eye-witnesses. Still, there is as yet too much individual passion controlling reports about the event for implicit confidence to be placed in *details*. The fact of criminal waste, to say the least, on the part of United States authorities is, however, placed beyond a doubt.

rebellion of the pueblo Indians. In regard to the sixteenth century, the publication, by the royal government of Spain, of the early portions of its archives relative to America has thrown light upon many points, and there is not so much cause for regret. But the times after Oñate have not been reached as yet, the material accumulated in the Archives of the Indies being so immense that there is no immediate prospect of its publication; unless the task is taken in hand independent of the systematic plan pursued by the Spanish authorities. I cannot, therefore, in this chapter, promise anything but a fragmentary history, patched, so to speak, together, with such material as I have been able to obtain at Mexico and elsewhere. I have unearthed at the National Archives of Mexico much that no history of the territory — ancient or modern — contains, but there is, unfortunately, very little in it that relates directly to Zuñi.¹ Still, Spanish colonization of the northern Southwest is placed in a new light by documents in my possession, and this light throws a faint gleam also on the past of the tribe whose fate under the rule of Spain forms the subject of my investigations.

There is a blank in Spanish documents (that is, as far as my knowledge of them goes) in regard to Zuñi, from the year 1599 to the year 1604. I would not be surprised if it were found subsequently that this blank could not be filled. I am led to this inference by the nature of the events following the ultimate pacification of the pueblos, and by the action of Don Juan de Oñate himself. The strange hallucination of seeking imaginary wealth at Quivira had taken hold of that governor's mind with such irresistible force, that he became reckless enough to disregard the interests of his government and the safety of the young colony by running after a phantom with the greater portion of his forces, leaving the settlement of San Gabriel unprotected, taking

¹ It is with the greatest regret that I have to state here, that I have been as yet unable to visit and study the lapidary evidences furnished on what is called "Inscription Rock" between Zuñi and San Rafael. The large number of inscriptions there contain valuable material for a doc-

umentary history of Zuñi; even as far back as the sixteenth century. But a simple tourist's visit with pen and sketch-book, or even with a camera, is nothing. It requires a number of days, nay, weeks, spent in careful deciphering, on the spot.

the missionaries away from their pueblos, and thus exposing all that he had commenced to eventual wreck and ruin.¹ It is not the place here to prove the utter fallacy of his extravagant notions concerning Quivira. All that I can do is to recall Coronado's own clear, positive, and exceedingly discouraging descriptions of that roaming tribe of northern Indians, temporarily located, in his time, in eastern Kansas,² and to point out, as instructive for the study of the colonization of America in general, how quickly and easily the sober truth was lost sight of at a time when "great expectations" were the order of the day, when everything appeared big, promising, and rich, as long as it was unknown or but partially explored.³ Oñate yielded completely to the Quivira-illusion, probably the easier, since he had found out the truth about New Mexico and was, therefore, anxious to find something better.

Oñate was far from being a favorite of the viceroy of New Spain, the Count of Monterey. That high dignitary failed to ~~admire~~ ^{admire} him from the very beginning; he even impeded his actions as much as possible. The reasons therefor seem to have been of a private, perhaps even of an egotistic, nature;⁴ but in the end the viceroy's distrust became justified. During Oñate's adventurous search of Quivira in 1601, the settlement at Chamita was exposed to such neglect and immediate danger, the missionaries were reduced to such a complete impossibility of performing their duties, that with common consent a majority

¹ See, in relation to it, Fray Juan de Escalona, *Carta de Relacion*, 1st of October, 160(1²) in (Torquemada, *Monarchta Indiana*, vol. i. p. 674); and Fray Francisco de San Miguel, *Carta*, 29th of February, 1602 (*Idem*, p. 677).

² Compare Coronado, *Carta al Emperador*, 1541 (*Doc. de Indias*, iii. p. 366); also Jaramillo, *Relacion Hecha*, p. 314; and Castañeda, *Cibola*.

³ It would be too tedious to quote proof in favor of this statement. The Quivira question is, like the South American "Dorado," one of the most interesting sub-

jects for study, on account of its importance for the History of Colonization. It shows how strong the tendencies were, at an age when mankind was almost overpowered by new geographical discoveries, to see everything in the light of the marvelous, and to discredit everything that appeared to be sober truth. This was the case with the public; the higher authorities were better informed, and they yielded to the spirit of the times only when it was in the interest of the crown.

⁴ *Real Cédula*, 8th of May, 1596 (MS.).

of the settlers and priests returned to Santa Barbara, and when the governor at last came back, with empty hands and his people worn out and discouraged, he found but a few half-starved soldiers and two priests, all of whom laid their destitution at his door.¹ Under such circumstances, no attention could be paid to missions as distant and as difficult of access as Zuñi; therefore I hold it as highly probable that no attempt was made to hold direct intercourse with these Indians in any manner until 1604.

Oñate abandoned the idea of reaching Quivira for a time, and turned his eyes to the West. He had already proposed to the viceroy a tour of exploration to the South Sea in 1599.² The reasons alleged by him in favor of the enterprise were: "The certainty of the proximity of the South Sea, whose commerce with Piru, New Spain, and China is not to be disdained. . . . And what I hold to be of esteem in it are the pearls, the reports of which are as certain, as I have said, and of which we have seen the shells here."³

This shows again, that the pueblos had, at that time already, the iridescent bivalves from the Gulf of California,⁴ and consequently, that the statements about limited intercourse, by way of trade, with the coast are true. For this intercourse Zuñi was the natural gateway through which the products of the West could reach ultimately the heart of New Mexico.

Although less than partial in favor of Oñate, the Count of Monterey had sufficient tact to yield to the interests of Spanish colonization, and

¹ Torquemada, *Monarchía Indiana*, vol. i. p. 677.

² *Copia de Carta Escrita al Virrey Conde de Monterrey; Don Juan de Oñate; de la Nueva México*, 2d of March, 1599 (*Doc. de Indias*, xvi. pp. 302-315).

³ *Idem*, p. 311. ". . . la segunda, la certidumbre de la cercana Mar del Sur, cuyo contrato de Piru, Nueva España y China, no es de menospreciar, pues ha de parir, andando el tiempo, provechosos y

continuados portazgos, por la mucha cercanía, en especial á la China y á esa tierra; y lo que en este pongo destimas es la contratación de las perlas, cuya noticia es tan cierta, como he referido, y experiencia en sus conchos de que aca la tenemos hecho por vista de ojos."

⁴ These shells are mentioned plainly by Fray Geronimo de Zárate-Salmeron: *Relaciones de todas las Cosas*, etc., p. 56.

not to refuse his aid from the moment the conquest of New Mexico became a permanent fact. But he was, like nearly all the viceroys, much more sober in his views and expectations than the subalterns. He considered the distant North, first as a doubtful experiment, then as a military necessity. His report to the king, dated May, 1602, clearly shows that the wealth imputed to the new country appeared to him more than problematic. But for the purpose of an outpost, as a safeguard against invasions of northern barbarians, and against encroachments from the Atlantic side of North America by England and France, he recommended that Oñate's plans be encouraged, as far as prudence would admit.¹

It would appear that, previous to the year 1602, an expedition was made to the westward by Vicente de Zaldivar, who had succeeded to Juan de Saldivar (murdered at Acoma) as "Maestre de Campo." That expedition consisted of twenty-five men, and is said to have passed through Zuñi as well as through Moqui. Still, the information is of a character which makes me hesitate as yet to consider the journey as a fact. It comes from Zaldivar himself! I have no additional evidence beyond a document coming from the notorious Diego de Peñalosa. It is, therefore, very suspicious, to say the least!²

The expedition made by Juan de Oñate, however, from San Gabriel

¹ *Discurso y Proposicion que se hace á Vuestra Magestad de lo Tocante á los Descubrimientos del Nuevo México, 1602 (Doc. de Indias, xvi).* I do not quote in detail, as the subject is merely accessory to the history of Zuñi. The whole letter of the viceroy is of great value. It gives an insight into the real position occupied by the crown and its chief officers towards the extravaganzas of discoverers, etc.

² The testimonies are found in *Otra Informacion de Servicios del Mismo Maestre de Campo: Siendo Sargento Mayor; Fecha Ante el Adelantado (Doc. de Indias, xvi. p. 219):* "Pregunta — Que

con veinte é cinco hombres, fue á descubrir el Poniente, y en mas de ducientas leguas, pasó por muchas naciones belicosas, que hizo de paz, dándoles muchas cosas — por lo cual se guiaban y daban razon de la tierra."

"Dicenlo cuatro testigos de los veinte é cinco, y otros muchos que le vieron salir y volver, y lo oyéron y fué público."

Diego Dionisio de Peñalosa places an expedition of Vicente de Zaldivar to the South Sea in the year 1618. It is superfluous to say that the date alone is already erroneous. Peñalosa was exceedingly given to the "invention" of documents.

on the Rio Grande del Norte, to the mouth of the Colorado River of the West, in the years 1604–1605, is not subject to any doubt. The journey took place; it began on the seventh day of October, 1604, and ended on the twenty-fifth day of April, 1605.¹

Not more than thirty inexperienced soldiers and two priests (Fray Francisco de Escobar, and Fray Juan de Buenaventura) accompanied Oñate: "They traveled westward sixty leagues, till they reached the province of Cuñi, which lies in a plain more thickly inhabited by hares and rabbits than by Indians. There are six villages, in all of which together there are over three hundred houses, with terraces and many stories, like those of New Mexico. The principal pueblo and chief place is the pueblo of Civola, called in their language 'Hauico.' It contains 110 houses; their sustenance is the same as it is all over the country: Maize, beans, calabash, game. They dress in mantles of Yxtli made out of thistles; they have no cotton. Leaving this village, and after having gone twenty leagues, between northwest and west, they arrived at the province of Moqui. There are seven pueblos here, in all 450 houses, after the same style; the people have mantles of cotton."²

¹ Zárate-Salmeron, *Relaciones*, art. 44.

² *Idem*, art. 44: "Año de 1604, á 7 dias del mes de Octubre, salió D. Juan de Oñate de la villa de Sn. Gabriel á descubrir la mar del Sur, llevó en su compañía al Pe Fr. Francisco de Escobar comisario que entonces era de aquellas provincias, y un religioso lego llamado Fr. Juan de Buenaventura, varones apostólicos; el comisario era hombre muy docto, y tubo don de lenguas, pues todas las deprendió con gran facilidad: Llevó en esta jornada 30 soldados los mas de ellos Visoños y no llevaron mas de catorze pares de armas de cavallos. Caminaron aquel Poniente 60 leguas, llegaron á la Provincia de Cuñi que está en unos llanos mas poblados de liebres y conejos, que de Yndios. Son 6 pueblos, en todos ellos no hay mas de 300

casas de terrados de muchos altos, como las de Nuevo México. El pueblo mayor, y caveza de todos es el Pueblo de Civola que en su lengua se llama Havico tiene 110 casas, el sustento como el General en toda la tierra. Maiz, frijol, calabazas, carne de montería: Vístense de mantas de Yxtli texidas de cardoncillo, no tienen estos Yndios algodón; partieron de este pueblo, y á 20 leguas andadas entre el Norueste, y Poniente llegaron á la Proa de Moqui, son siete pueblos, y en todos 450 casas el mismo modo de casas, y mantas de algodón."

This journey made by Juan de Oñate is mentioned also by Fray Agustin de Vetancurt in various places. *Teatro Mexicano*, edition of 1871, vol. i. pp. 236, 262, 263; *Idem*, vol. ii. p. 201.

“There are in the province of Zuñi mines of silver on [mineral-] blue so fine that they use it for painting, and carry it to the settlements of New Mexico for sale.”¹

The author of this report, Fray Gerónimo de Zárate-Salmeron, was not in New Mexico at the time of this expedition, but soon after.² There existed a narrative written by an eye-witness of it, which report I have so far been unable to find.³ Oñate went as far as the mouth of the Colorado, and returned safely to San Gabriel. It is presumable that he passed through Zuñi again. From what I have quoted we gather: first, a confirmation of my former conclusion, that the Cibola of Coronado was not the Cibola of Fray Marcos, though pertaining likewise to the cluster of Zuñi pueblos, but that it was Hauicu or Aguas-calientes. Secondly, we learn again of the existence of only six villages, one less than there were sixty years previous; and lastly, that cotton was not raised in the Zuñi country. What Father Zárate says of mines is to be taken with some allowance. The men of that time were as easily deceived by the blue and green colors of copper carbonates as the modern enthusiast and the prospector. They also had to learn, and at some expense, how misleading appearances are in the Southwest. I might as well state here, that the tales of Spanish mining in New Mexico, at an early date, are as many fables. Still the Spaniards were better prepared to judge of the intrinsic value of New Mexican ores than the prospector of our day, in the majority of cases, since they had gone, at least many of them, through a course of practical training in northern Mexico, where the formations resemble more closely those of New Mexico than anything in the East or in Europe.

¹ Zárate: “En la provincia de Zuñi hay minas de plata sobre azul tan fino, que es con que ellos pintan, y llevan á vender á los Poblado del nuevo México; Yo tengo unas piedras para enseñar, y me dijeron los pintores era el mejor azul del mundo.”

² He was in New Mexico previous to 1626.

³ It appears from Vetancurt, *Teatro*, i.

pp. 13, 263, that both Fray Roque Figueredo and Fray Francisco de Escobar wrote narratives of the expedition. The former took no part in it, however. Two writings of him on New Mexico are mentioned by Beristain y Souza, *Biblioteca Hispano-Americana Setentrional*, edition of 1883, vol. i. p. 443.

We cannot overlook the positive statement, of an official character, made in 1725 by the Brigadier Don Pedro de Rivera, concerning the mineral wealth of the territory: "In the said kingdom a few ores have been found, but the metallic product was so small that it did not cover the cost of production, wherefore the mines have been abandoned."¹

In addition to this are the complaints made by Fray Zárate as well as by Fray Alonso de Benavides, already in the beginning of the seventeenth century, that the Spaniards in New Mexico were very indifferent about mining, paying no attention to it whatever.²

I regret to state that for over twenty years after Oñate's return to San Gabriel there is again a complete blank about Zuñi, in the Spanish documents at my command. So much seems to be certain, that no missionary resided among its Indians, and that no colonists attempted to settle in their neighborhood. The Cibola of old remained untouched by European culture and by Christian doctrine. When Fray Alonso de Benavides became custodian of New Mexico, in 1622, Zuñi was looked upon as virgin soil for a missionary.³ It was even regarded as dangerous, principally on account of the long journey through desert regions, and on account of the tribe of Acoma, the ferocity of which was dreaded.⁴ Another and powerful reason for this abandonment of distant missions in general was the lack of missionaries and colonists. In 1617 there were in New Mexico but a dozen priests; and to protect these and hold the only post in the country, Santa Fé, there were only forty-eight men armed or able to bear arms.⁵ The province was so very far away from the other colonies, without a single relay between it and southern Chihuahua, that people went there only with reluctance; and the Franciscans themselves were hardly encouraged to come by the conduct of governors like Don Pedro de Peralta and Bernardino de Ceballos, who succeeded Oñate.⁶ New Mexico was to Spain a military

¹ *Diario y Derrotero*, 1736, p. 32.

⁵ *Real Cédula*, 20th of May, 1630

² *Relaciones*, art. 34, 35; Benavides, (MS.).

Memorial, 1630, pp. 17, 18.

⁶ The quarrels between the clergy and the governors began already under Don Pedro de Peralta. They were exceed-

³ Vetancurt, *Menologio*, p. 52.

⁴ *Idem*, p. 247.

necessity, and nothing else ; it was, and always remained, a heavy load upon the government, which derived absolutely nothing from it, in return for large outlays, but Indian subjects of doubtful allegiance, and an indifferent protection of the South from roving bands. It may be said that the New Mexican colony was an imperfect lightning-rod for the more remunerative Spanish possessions in Chihuahua and Coahuila.¹

A reinforcement of the clergy took place in 1622, when Fray Benavides went to New Mexico with twenty-six priests.² Conversion began with renewed zeal. The field was enlarged through endeavors to approach the Navajos and Apaches.³ They were successful only for a short time, but saved the tribe of Jemez from utter destruction by those hereditary foes of all civilization.⁴ The villages of the Jemez had already been abandoned in consequence of the forays of the Navajos ; the two churches at San Diego and San Joseph were crumbling, when Fray Martin de Arvide asked permission from his superior ~~to attempt~~ a reëstablishment of the missions.⁵ I mention this missionary here, because his tragic end took place not far from the villages of Zuñi, and even, perhaps, at the hands of some of its Indians. In 1627 only nineteen of the priests led into New Mexico by Benavides were still alive. Seven had died in five years ! The king, therefore, gave permission to obtain new recruits ; and in 1629 Fray Estevan de Perea came with thirty new missionaries.⁶ Among them were Fray Juan

ingly bitter under Admiral Bernardino de Cevallos in 1617. But the priests evidently were in the right, and the grounds they took were legal and just. Compare *Autos de Proceso contra Juan de Escaramad*, 1617 (MS.).

¹ This was the chief importance of New Mexico to the Spanish crown, and it is so frequently insisted upon in documents of all kinds, that I refrain from quoting any.

² *Real Cédula*, 15th of November, 1627 (in Benavides, *Memorial*, pp. 1, 2). "Frai Juan de Santander, etc., etc., me a hecho

relacion. . . y que aurá como cinco años, por el Capitulo Provincial, q se celebró della Frai Alonso de Benavides . . . y le distis despacho para lleuar veinte y seis Ministros á aquellas conuersiones [como los lleuó]."

³ Benavides, *Memorial*, pp. 52-76.

⁴ *Idem*, p. 27 ; Vetancurt, *Menologio*, p. 76.

⁵ *Menologio*, p. 76.

⁶ Vetancurt, *Crónica de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio de México*, ed. of 1871, p. 300 ; Benavides, *Memorial*, p. 2.

Ramirez and Fray Francisco Letrado. The former became the apostle of the Acomas,¹ the latter the apostle of the Zuñis.

Born at "Talavera de la Reina," in Spain, Fray Francisco Letrado took orders in his native land, and then crossed the ocean to Mexico.² He began work in New Mexico among the Jumanos, but very soon, in all probability in the same year,³ he penetrated to the Zuñis. He may have been accompanied by a small escort, for at the time of his death there were a few Spanish soldiers in the vicinity.⁴ It would seem that the Zuñis received him amicably, and they so far yielded to his teachings and example, that, previous to the year 1630, there were built two churches, in two of the Zuñi villages, each one with its "convent," as the priests' residence was called, and a number of the Indians (greatly overstated by Benavides) were baptized.⁵ One of these churches was at Hauicu, and was dedicated to the Immaculate Conception; the other, probably at Halona, and dedicated to the Purification.⁶ Fray Letrado himself lived at Hauicu; but his eyes were turned further to the West, towards a tribe of Indians called by Vetancurt (from whose chronicle I gather these details) "Zipias."⁷ The Zuñis designate by the name of

¹ Vetancurt, *Menologio*, p. 247.

² *Idem*, p. 52: "El venerable padre fray Francisco Letrado, natural de Talavera de la Reina, hijo de la Santa Provincia de Castilla, pasó con deseo de convertir almas para Dios á la Provincia del Santo Evangelio, y viendo que estaban convertidos, decia que su intento principal era buscar que convertir, y así pasó al Nuevo México el año de 1628 con los treinta religiosos que fueron á la conversion."

³ *Idem*: "Entró en la nueva conversion de los humanas; bautizó á muchos; edificó iglesia y morada para religioso; y habiendo oído decir que en Zuñi [provincia populosa] habia que convertir, pidió el pasar á ella, donde juntó en cinco pueblos muchos infieles que catequizó y bautizó." Benavides does not give the name of the

missionary, but he speaks of the work as done at his time and under his direction. *Memorial*, p. 33.

⁴ It was the custom to give the missionaries a few armed men as escort. Fr. Juan Ramirez, however, went to Acoma alone. The soldiers are mentioned by Vetancurt, *Menologio*, p. 53.

⁵ *Idem*: "donde juntó en cinco pueblos muchos infieles que catequizó y bautizó;" Benavides, *Memorial*, p. 33: "en que ay mas de diez mil almas conuertidas que se van catequizando, y bautizando con dos Conuentos y Iglesias."

⁶ Vetancurt, *Crónica*, pp. 320, 321.

⁷ *Idem*: "La Concepcion de Aguico, está al Occidente de Alona, tres leguas. . . . Estos se rebelaron el año de 32 y mataron al venerable padre fray Francisco

"Zippia-Kue," some tribe formerly living to the southwest of their range. What has become of it I could not ascertain. His application was rejected. His superiors thought, and reasonably too, that it was preferable for him to remain where he had so well begun. In his place, Fray Martin de Arvide was sent to the Zipias, by way of Zuñi.¹ He spent a short time at Hauicu with Fray Letrado, who besought him to intercede in his favor with the father custodian. But Arvide could not recede; obedience, that first duty and quality of a regular priest, forbade yielding to the importunities of his brother and friend. It was in the latter part of February that the two separated, and on parting Martin de Arvide uttered these words, which very soon became prophetic: "Brother, if you have to be a martyr, it will be here where you are tied by obedience; and if I also am destined to martyrdom, I shall meet that fate on my road."² Thus they separated, never to meet again. On the 22d of February [a Sunday] the Indians appeared to delay in attending mass. Fray Francisco, impatient, and probably of a fiery and zealous nature, went out to urge them. He met some idolaters, and began to chide them. He saw at once that they were bent upon killing him, so he knelt down, holding in his hands a small crucifix, and continued the remonstrance while in this attitude. The Indians shot him dead with arrows, carried off the corpse and scalped it, parading the scalp afterwards at the usual dances.³ One part of Fray Arvide's prophecy had been fulfilled.

Letrado;" *Menologio*, p. 53: "Estando ya instruidos, no le permitia su fervor dejar de buscar nuevas conversiones: pidió licencia para pasar á los Zipias."

¹ *Idem*: "y pareciendole al custodio que seria de mas servicio á Dios que acabase la obra empezada donde estaba, no se le concedió la licencia. Envió al padre fray Martin de Arvide, que pasando por allí."

² *Idem*: "le quedó el padre Letrado muy envidioso, y le rogaba le dejase despatchar al prelado para la permuta;" p.

76: "De aquí, dejándolos en paz y congregados, le envió la obediencia á los Zipias: pasó por el convento de Zuñi, donde moraba el venerable padre fray Francisco Letrado, que habia solicitado ir á esta empresa y se la habia negado: instado á que se trocasen las suertes, no vino en el concierto, y al despedirse le dijo al venerable padre fray Francisco Hermano, si hás de ser mártir aquí lo serás donde te tiene la obediencia; y si yo estoy escogido para serlo, en el camino lo seré."

³ *Idem*, p. 53: "Un domingo de cua-

Five days afterwards, on the way to the Zipias, occurred the fulfillment of the rest. Father Arvide was accompanied by two soldiers as escort, five Christian Indians, and a mestizo by the name of Lorenzo. It would seem, from Vetancurt, that the natives of Hauicu, after they had murdered Father Letrado, followed Arvide, and overtook him, while in camp on the night of the 27th of February. They killed the two soldiers, and then began to ill-treat the priest, without, however, taking his life. The mestizo, anxious to ingratiate himself with the fiends, cut off the right hand of his benefactor, while the latter was still alive, and then tore off his scalp. This wretch was afterwards secured by the Spanish authorities and hanged for his crime.¹

The dates of these events are positive as far as the days and the month are concerned. Strange to say, the same certainty does not prevail in regard to the year. Vetancurt places the death of the two priests in 1632. A document of undoubted authenticity, found by me in the Archives of Mexico, fixes the date at 1630!² Which is to be

resma, viendo que tardaban algunos en venir á misa, salió á buscarlos: encontró con unos idólatras, y encendido en fervor les empezó á predicar; y viendo se conjuraban á quitarle la vida, con un Cristo pintado en una cruz que traía al cuello para su defensa, puesto de rodillas y encomendandose al Señor, murió predicando, flechado. No fué hallado su cuerpo de los soldados cristianos, porque los barbaros se lo llevaron, quitándole de la cabeza la piel para sus bailes gentílicos." This murder took place at, or very near, Hauicu, according to the same author, p. 321: "Estos se rebelaron el año de 32 y mataron al venerable padre fray Francisco Letrado . . . y quemaron la iglesia."

¹ For these details I have so far only Vetancurt to vouch for, *Menologio*, p. 76. He says of Arvide: "y así pasó, porque yendo en su compañía Bartolomé de Amihbia, paisano suyo, y Roque Garcia, mexi-

cano, por soldados de su guarda, con cinco Indios cristianos y un mestizo que habia criado desde niño [llamado Lorenzo], fueron los barbaros en su alcance y una noche dieron sobre los Cristianos, quitando la vida primero á los soldados y dejando al venerable padre medio vivo, que no se atrevieron á privarle de la vida: su criado Lorenzo, por hacer á los barbaros lisonja, le cortó la mano derecha y le desolló la cabeza con el cerquillo. . . . No se quedó sin castigo, que su delito lo entregó á la justicia, y pagó con la vida ahorcado." The fact of the assassination of Fray Letrado is also mentioned in the protest by Fray Cristobal de Quiros, *Auto*, September, 1636 (MS.); "y como los Yndios de la prouy'-ca de Zuñi se alzaron y mataron á su ministro en tiempo de Dn. fran'co de Silva."

² *Autos y Traslados de Autos Sobre las Misiones de Zuñi*, 1636 (MS. Ar-

regarded as right? Benavides, who wrote in 1630, leads to the inference that at his time the murders had not yet been committed.¹ But Benavides was in Spain when he wrote the "Memorial" to the king,² and he had left New Mexico in 1628. He might have been in Mexico even when the tragedy occurred and not have heard of it before his sailing for Spain. I therefore incline in favor of the date 1630, until better informed.

After this double catastrophe the Zuñi Indians abandoned their homes and fled to the top of the "rock of Caquima"!³ This is, under the name of the pueblo at its foot, the famous Mesa of Toyoalana, or Thunder-mountain. We find here a plain confirmation of what the report on the first meeting of Coronado with the Zuñis, the often-quoted "Traslado," tells us about the true part played by this gigantic rock in the history of the tribe.⁴ "Thunder-mountain" was not an "ancient home"; the ruins on its summit are not those of "Old Zuñi." It was used as a place of refuge, as a resort in times of danger. The Zuñis, having committed the atrocities narrated, fled to Toyoalana for safety; they supposed that the Spaniards, now so much nearer than before, would soon return to avenge the dead.

Still, there was not the slightest hurry, on the part of the authorities

chives of Mexico, *Tierras*): "por auer ya seis años poco mas ó menos que carecen de ministro."

¹ *Memorial*, p. 33.

² *Idem*, p. 3. He went to Spain in 1628. *Carta á los Religiosos de la Conversion de San Pablo*, 1631 (in *Vida de Fray Junípero Serra*, p. 331).

³ *Autos y Traslados*, etc.: "digo q'e por quanto los yndios del peñol de caquima de la prou'ia de çuñi se abian alsado en tiempo del gov'r don Fran'co desilu á los quales yndios don fran'co de la mora qe susedió en el gouierno los dejó de paz. la qual siempre an conservado desde q'e enbió el d'ho Fran'co de la mora al mro

de campo . . . y subieron los rreliгиозos q'e yvan con el d'ho mro de campo al peñol con algunos soldados;" also: *Petición de los Alcaldes y Regidores del Cabildo de la Villa de Santafé*, 3d of October, 1680 (MS. Archives of Mexico, *Historia*): "y aunque es verdad que en diferentes ocasiones han intentado el alzamiento y desobediencia los Indios alzados del Nuevo México, ha sido en diferentes pueblos, y naciones, como fué los Zuñis en el peñol de Caquima."

⁴ *Traslado*, 1541, p. 532: "fué quatro leguas de esta ciudad á ver un peñol donde le dixerón que los Yndios desta provincia se hacían fuertes."

at Santa Fé, to act against the rebellious tribe. In the first place, the forty or fifty soldiers then guarding the whole of New Mexico could not well be spared, and again, relations between the temporal power and the clergy were so unfriendly that the latter could not obtain the slightest attention from the governors. It must be admitted that these governors, after Oñate, and previous to Alonso Pacheco de Heredia in 1643, deserve little sympathy and still less credit. As for the military proper, it was mainly rabble, and sometimes of the worst kind!¹ Of their free will and accord, very few decent people went to New Mexico to stay. On the other hand, the missionaries were extremely jealous of their prerogatives and of their power over the Indians, and tolerated none of the encroachments upon the rights of the natives, which colonists, of whatever nationality or creed, have always attempted to commit. Their jealousy for the rights of the Indian and for his peaceable living under the protection of the church went often to extremes, and the greatest bitterness prevailed in consequence between the governors and a part of the Spaniards on the one hand, and the clergy and their adherents on the other.² Zuñi remained, therefore, undisturbed for nearly two years, until Francisco de la Mora sent the Maestre de Campo, Thomas de Albizu, with a

¹ This is already foreshadowed by the viceroy Conde de Monterey, in *Discurso y Proposición*, 1602, pp. 47-52. It is very clearly expressed in the *Carta al Virrey: del P: Custodio y de los Definidores del Nuevo México*, 28th of November, 1636 (MS. Archives of Mexico); and in the letter to the king by Fray Andrés Suarez, *Carta*, 26th of October, 1647 (MS. Archives, etc.).

² I am in possession of collated copies of a number of instruments of writing, — official documents, relative to these quarrels. As the matter is not strictly germane to this subject, I do not quote in detail, limiting myself to a general reference to the following papers, all manuscripts:

Mandamiento del Apostólico y Real Tribunal de la Santa Cruzada Sobre Asuntos del Nuevo México, 1633; *Mandamiento del Virrey de Nueva España*, 1634; *Autos — Sobre las Misiones de Zuñi*, 1636; *Autos y Quejas sobre Excomuniones*, 1636; Fray Pedro Zambrano, *Carta al Virrey*, 1636; Fray Antonio de Ybarra, *Carta al Virrey*, 1636; *Carta al Virrey del P: Custodio*, etc., etc., 1636; Francisco Gomez, *Carta al Virrey*, 1638; *Carta del Cabildo de la Villa de Santa Fe: al Virrey*, 1639; *Ynforme del Ylustrissimo Señor Don Juan de Palafox y Mendoza*, 1642; *Real Cédula*, 14th of July, 1643.

small detachment and a few priests to reduce the stronghold. This must have been in 1632 or thereabouts. The enterprise proved a success; the missionaries were admitted to the summit of Thunder-mountain, and the Zuñis promised "to be good" thereafter.¹ But in 1636 they were still without a resident priest!² simply because the governor, Francisco Martinez de Baeza, refused to give an escort.³ I am unable to find when the missions of Zuñi commenced to be permanent, but think it was after 1642. My reasons for holding this opinion at present, subject to correction of course, are as follows:—

Between 1630 and 1636 it is certain that the Zuñis were left without priests. There is the official declaration of Fray Cristobal de Quirós, custodian of the province, to that effect. But they were peaceable, and in 1635 had already begun to leave the mesa and settle in their villages on the plain again.⁴ The peremptory refusal by Francisco Martinez de Baeza, governor of New Mexico, delayed all efforts of the clergy. Thence on matters grew rapidly worse, the breach widened, and in 1642 disorders culminated in the assassination of Governor Don Luis de Rozas in the jail at Santa Fé.⁵ Six years of such bitter controversy were not favorable to an extension of the missions. Furthermore, Baeza's successor, the unfortunate Rozas, kept his eyes fixed on the East. Quivira was his objective point.⁶ In 1639 there

¹ *Autos Sobre las Misiones de Zuñi*:

"don fran'co de la mora q'e susedió en el gouierno los dejó de paz, la qual siempre an conservado desde q'e enbió el d'ho don Fran'co de la mora al mro de campo thomas de albisu y subieron los rreliгиозos q'e yvan con el d'ho mro de campo al peñol con algunos soldados los quales Yndios tengo noticia q'e se ban poblando en sus pueblos de un año á esta parte." Vetancurt, *Crónica*, p. 321: "Volvieron perdonados á reducirse."

² *Autos, etc., etc., Sobre las Misiones de Zuñi*.

³ *Idem*, Francisco Martinez de Baeza, *Auto*, 27th of September, 1636.

⁴ *Peticion*.

⁵ *Informe del Yll & Ex. Sr. Don Juan de Palafox; Real Cédula*, 1643; Juan Diez de la Calle, *Memorial y Noticias Sanas y Reales del Imperio de las Indias Occidentales*, p. 183. The latter says that it happened in 1644, but the date 1642 is positive. I own the original *Autos de Proceso*, of 1643, in which the events of the past year are alluded to. These "Autos" treat of events which were consequences of those of 1642.

⁶ Francisco Gomez, *Carta al Virrey*, 26th of October, 1638.

were at Santa Fé not over thirty Spanish families, and the supply of arms and ammunition was almost purely nominal.¹ All this contributed to check attempts in the direction of Zuñi. Still, it is not impossible that one or the other of the fathers may have undertaken a mission at his own personal risk, but I have discovered no documentary evidence of it so far.

After the reestablishment of order in New Mexico among the Spanish colonists in 1643, the bad effects of prior dissensions began to show themselves among the pueblo Indians. It can be proved that the real beginnings of the great insurrection of 1680 date from the sad and bloody times ending with the murder of Rozas. The seed of hatred and revenge which the Spaniards then sowed among themselves, depreciated both clergy and laymen in the eyes of the natives. True, if the missionaries suffered at the hands of arbitrary governors, it was largely because they defended their Indians from abuse on the part of the former; but, nevertheless, the mere fact that these officers showed more power in many cases than the priest caused the natives to lose respect. Besides, the missionaries were in many ways obnoxious to the pueblo, especially to the medicine-men. They prohibited idolatry, they punished sorcery, they introduced regular marriage. All such reforms were against Indian customs and beliefs. It is often alleged that the prosecution of Indian sorcerers by the missionaries was a practice as bad and superstitious as sorcery itself. But we should not ignore the fact that the Indian not only believes in sorcery as a means of evil-doing, but that he practices it often with the deliberate intention and purpose of committing a crime, and that he expects nothing else, in case of discovery, than capital punishment, chiefly from his own people! The prosecution of Indian sorcerers in the seventeenth century was not, by far, as much an act of tyranny and cruelty as it is sometimes judged to be. The medicine-men were nothing else but Indian sorcerers; they wielded the greatest influence among all tribes; their oracles were law, and their conjurations futile, yet determined, attempts at crime! They were also, quite as often, conspiracies against

¹ *Carta del Cabildo de Santa-fé*, 21st of February, 1639, fol. 4.

Spanish domination. The same thing happens nowadays; there is hardly an Indian outbreak without the medicine-men being at the bottom of it. And we do not hesitate to punish them for such outbreaks. Equity demands that we should not judge the Spaniards any more harshly than we judge ourselves. If we are justified in chastising the Indian when he intends to kill us, so was the Spaniard justified two centuries ago. A third element, which was, perhaps, of greater weight yet, in preparing the great rebellion, were the relations of the pueblos and Spaniards to the Apaches and Navajos!

From time immemorial these Indians had been the curse of the villagers. The distribution of the pueblos, their style of architecture, their mode of living and traditions, all point to the fact that these roving neighbors were a "thorn in the flesh" of the sedentary tribes, and were, in fact, living upon them as wolves do upon a flock of sheep or cattle. When the Spaniards came, the pueblos submitted voluntarily, with the latent hope that the whites would rid them of this curse. In this matter the Indian looked quite as much, if not more, to the church than to the military power. To the Indian, religion is inseparable from magic; the rites of mass and the tolling of the bells were so many weapons, in his eyes, wherewith to "beat" the much dreaded "war-medicines" of their enemies. To give them different ideas requires centuries of patient, and often exasperatingly slow, education.

In the beginning, the Apaches seemed rather disposed to make a distinction in favor of the new-comers; they went so far as to show a willingness to embrace Christianity. But this kindly feeling could not be made to extend to the pueblos. These were excluded from every truce or treaty with the whites, and the Spaniards could not accede to such an exception. Since the pueblos were vassals of the same king, they must enjoy the same rights and the same protection. This was the chief stumbling-block to a permanent peace with the Apaches, and war was resumed in the same desultory, but gradually exterminating, manner as of old. The pueblos began to suffer from it as much if not more than the whites, and they accused the Spaniards of being inefficient soldiers, and the missionaries of not hav-

ing "the right kind of medicine." When, therefore, the latter insisted upon a change in customs, and, above all, in sentiments and behavior, the pueblo Indian naturally asked: "What's the use? what do we gain by such a change? We do not live any quieter, we are not any freer from danger, than heretofore. The new creed is not any better 'medicine' than the old one, since our enemies do not respect its rites; the new rule is worse than the old one, since it gives us more to do, and takes away the enjoyments we had previously."

Of the many useful importations the Indian scarcely thought, for the Indian is only a big child with the appetites and passions of full-grown manhood.

Everything thus conspired to lessen the value of Spanish rule in the eyes of the native. Excesses, and individual abuse of the aborigines, certainly occurred, but they were far from being as grave as it is the habit to allege. The fact is that other nations point at the mote in the Spaniard's eye in order to divert attention from the beam in their own. Mankind has made great progress since the seventeenth century, but man has remained about the same kind of a being. When and where he is out of reach of salutary control, he is exceedingly prone to abuse his neighbor as often as he can, or thinks he can do it. New Mexico was far out of reach of Spain, and even of Mexico; it was a forlorn post, and the few hundreds of frontier people and adventurers who gradually drifted into it and stayed, either because they were not wanted elsewhere or too much wanted, did about as they pleased, the missionaries being about the only ones who opposed lawlessness. The governors purchased their offices from the viceroys,¹ who were glad to obtain, in this way, some compensation for the crown's constant heavy expenses, and to make up for this personal outlay the governors had no other resource than Apache wars, with the captives thereby secured, a few cotton mantles paid as tribute by the pueblos, and, "Piñon"! ² This picture of New Mexico in the seventeenth century is not in

¹ Fray Andres Suarez, *Carta al Rey*,
26th of October, 1647; *Real Cédula*, 22d
of September, 1650.

² *Idem.*

accordance with what is generally told, but it is nevertheless authentic ; and it is a fact, also, that in 1680 there were in the whole territory not over fifteen hundred Spanish inhabitants, all told.¹

The pueblo Indians noticed this weakness ; they noticed, also, that in consequence of it the Apaches grew in power. Why, then, further support foreign domination that was of no relief to them ? So they reasoned, and so they began to lay their plans soon after 1643.

There is positive evidence that as early as 1650 pueblo Indians joined the Apaches against the whites.² There is also a confession, duly certified, made in 1681, by an Indian who was a medicine-man and well versed in the secret clusters, which reads as follows : —

“That since the time of the Lord General Hernando Ugarte y la Concha, they have planned to rise several times, and on various occasions by convocation of the Indian sorcerers, that although some villages agreed to it, in others they refused to entertain the propositions. It is also true that, in the time of said governor, seven or eight Indians

¹ The number of people who escaped with the governor, Antonio de Otermin, to El Paso del Norte, in 1680, is given as 1,946. Licenciado Martin de Solis-Miranda, *Dictámen Fiscal*, 7th January, 1681 (MS.): During the massacre in August, there perished 400. Among those who escaped were several hundred pueblo Indians, Piro of Socorro and Alamillo, etc., etc.; there were also several hundred Mexican Indians, who acted as servants and hired hands. This estimate reduces the actual number of Spaniards in New Mexico to below fifteen hundred.

² *Ynterrogatorio de Preguntas hecho por mi Don Antonio de Otermin; Gobernador y Capitan General*, 1681 (MS. Archives of Mexico). There are a number of insurrections mentioned in this interrogatory. Among them one while Don Fernando de Argüello was governor of

New Mexico. Argüello occupied that post, according to Fray Silvestre Velez de Escalante, *Carta al Padre Morfi*, 2d of April, 1778, art. 1, in 1645. The *Ynterrogatorio* says: “y en particular en el tiempo de D. Fernando de Argüello, que en el pueblo de Xemes ahorcó por traidores confederados con los Apaches veinte y nueve Xemes, depositando cantidad de ellos por el mismo delito, y haber muerto á Diego Martinez Naranjo.” Another witness replies: “que desde que tiene uso de razon ha visto y oido que los naturales de este reyno han sido castigados muchas veces por echiceros, idolatras traidores, confederados con los Apaches.” Still another witness: “y el año de cincuenta gobernando el General Concha, descubrió una conjuracion, y alzamiento que los hechiceros y principales de los pueblos tuvieron dispuesta con los enemigos Apaches.”

were hanged for the same reason, after which the troubles ceased for a while. Some time afterwards they dispatched from the pueblo of Taos two pieces of buckskin with paintings on them to all the villages of the Custody, with tokens of conspiracy, after their custom, to call the people to a new uprising, and that these pieces of buckskin traveled as far as the province of Moqui, where they would not admit them, whereupon the agreement then in force was dissolved.”¹

Don Hernando de Ugarte y la Concha commanded in New Mexico in 1650. The above call for a general revolt took place after that time, and it seems, since it went as far as the Moqui pueblos, that the Zuñis were also addressed, and that they joined the conspiracy. There is no evidence that, as a tribe, they took part in any other of the attempts at partial insurrection that occurred from time to time previous to August, 1680. On the other hand, the Zuñis were exposed to constant annoyance from the Navajos, and this led to a bloody catastrophe in the year 1670.

In that year the priests of the two missions of Zuñi, Halona and Hauicu, were: at the former Fray Juan Galdo, at the latter Fray Pedro de Avila y Ayala. Hauicu was regarded then as a dangerous post,

¹ *Interrogatorios y declaraciones hechas de orden de Don Antonio de Otermin, 1681 (MS.):* “Que ha desde el gobierno del Senor General Hernando Ugarte y la Concha, que han tratado de alzarse en diferentes ocasiones, por convocacion de los Indios echizeros, que aunque en algunos pueblos admitian los mensajes en otras partes no venian en ello, y que es verdad que en el gobierno del dicho Senor Gobernador se ahorcaron siete, y ocho Indios por las misma causa, con que se sosegó la inquietud, y despues de allí algun tiempo despacharon del pueblo de Taos dos gamuzas con algunas pinturas por los pueblos de la Custodia, con senales de conjuracion á su modo, para convocar la gente á nuevo alzamiento y que dichas gamuzas pasaron

hasta la provincia de Moqui, donde no quisieron admitirlos, y cesó el pacto que ivan haciendo por entonces, teniendo siempre en su corazon el deseo de egecutarlo, para vivir, como hoy viven.” The Indian who gave this information was “one who knew.” His name was Pedro Naranjo, he was from San Felipe, and is qualified as follows in the *Ynterrogatorio de Preguntas*: “comolo declara. . . Pedro Naranjo, preso en este Real, de 80 años de edad, echizero consumado, y por tal entre ellos insigne, y de primera estimacion, como se verifica de haberlo hallado en la Yglesia enseñando la diabólica manera, y circunstancias con que habian de baylar en sus torpes, y ob-senisimas juntas, que llaman cazinas.”

owing to the proximity of the Navajos. On the 7th of October of that year, Fray Pedro may have been alone in the pueblo when the enemies entered the village. Whether the inhabitants had fled or concealed themselves in their houses, Vetancurt, from whose work I gather these facts, does not say. The priest retired to the church, clinging there to a cross, and holding in hand an image of the Virgin. "They dragged him out by force, and at the foot of a cross they killed him, having stripped him naked first. Then they broke all the ornaments, set fire to the church, and threw the image of the Virgin, to which the father had clung for protection, into the flames." The following day Fray Juan Galdo came over from Halona to look for the corpse. He found it, naked, and alongside of it a bell covered with blood, with which the martyr's skull had been broken; he found, also, over two hundred arrows and rocks, and thrée dead lambs near by. The body was buried in the old church of Halona, all trace of which has now disappeared from the surface.¹ Hauciu was never reoccupied

¹ *Menologio*, p. 346: "El venerable padre Pedro de Avila y Ayala, pasó el año de 668 á la ciudad de México, de la provincia de Yucatan, con la limosna de los Santos Lugares, en ocasion que se hacia el despacho de Nuevo México; y llevado del espiritu de muchas conversiones, suplicó al reverendísimo fray Hernando de la Rua le diese orden para ir entre los de la mision. Luego que llegó, le cupo el pueblo de Aguico, cercano á los barbaros y peligroso por las invasiones. Trabajó en la vina del Senor y redujó algunos y no sufriendo la barbaridad, ministro tan eficaz, entraron en el pueblo viendo ausente á Bartolomé de Cisneros y solo al padre: fuese á la iglesia y abrazóse con la cruz con una imagen de nuestra Senora. Sacaronle á fuerza, y desnudo al pié de una cruz que estaba en el patio, le quitaron la vida, hicieron pedazos los

ornamentos, quemaron el templo, y en medio de las llamas echaron la imagen de la Virgen, de que se amparó el venerable padre. Al otro día fué el padre fray Juan Galdo, guardian cercano del pueblo de Alona, y halló entre las cenizas la imagen de la Virgen sin que le llegase el fuego, con solas unas ampollas como las que salen á los que se les queman carnes. Hallaron el cuerpo desnudo y la cruz sobre las verendas, cubriéndolas por la honestidad: una campana llena de sangre con que le quebraron la cabeza; mas de doscientas piedras y saetas; tres corderos muertos á su lado . . . que fue el año de 670, en 7 de Octubre. Llevaronle al pueblo de Alona, donde está sepultado." The tragic death of this priest is also mentioned by the Fiscal, Don Martin de Solis-Miranda, in his *Parecer* of September 5, 1676 (MS. Archives of Mexico), but the year is given

any more as a mission,¹ the pueblo dwindled down to a mere summer-village. Halona remained henceforth the only mission, with church and convent, among the Zuñis. But besides Halona and Hauicu, there existed, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, four other Zuñi villages. In 1680 only two of these are mentioned, and those only as "aldeas" or hamlets, each of them having a small chapel, where the priest of Halona occasionally used to say mass. These hamlets were Matzaqui and Quiaquima, the former once the most populous village in Coronado's time. At this time they were reduced to ruins almost, with an aggregate population, Vetancurt affirms, of a few hundred souls.² The villages of Canabi and A-pinaua were therefore abandoned between 1604 and 1680. One of them, which one I cannot determine, must even have been deserted about 1630, and probably at the instance of Fray Francisco Letrado.³ Such changes were frequently brought

as 1672: "pasaron á dar muerte al P. Fr. Pedro de Ayala, Ministro en el pueblo de Ajuico en el día 7 de Octubre del año pasado de 672." I have followed the indications of Vetancurt as to date, being utterly powerless to determine which of the two is right.

¹ Vetancurt, *Crónica*, p. 321, insinuates, at least, that Hauicu was reoccupied afterwards, and that there was a priest there in 1680. But I cannot but disagree with him on this point. He says: "y en el rebelion se escapó el religioso; pero volvieron á quemar el templo." I have a list of all the priests who escaped in 1680, with the names of the parishes, and there is none among them who resided farther west than Jemez. In my opinion, Fray Silvestre Velez de Escalante is perfectly right in saying in his *Carta al P. Morfi*, that "Jahuicu" had to be abandoned previous to the great rebellion on account of the Apaches [Navajos].

² I copy the description of Vetancurt,

Crónica, p. 320: "49. Alona. — Veinticuatro leguas de Acoma está el pueblo de Alona, con su iglesia dedicada á la Purificacion de la Virgen, con dos aldeas de visita, que cada qual tenia su pequeña iglesia llamadas Mazaquia y Caquima, dos leguas de Alona. Tenia mil y quinientas personas." About Hauicu the same author asserts: "Está al Occidente de Alona, tres leguas, con otros pueblos pequeños donde habia mas de mil personas." This would place the population of Zuñi, in 1680, at 3,000. In 1660, according to the same author (*Idem*, p. 314), the whole population of the Custody, that is, of all the missions of New Mexico and of Arizona, amounted to 24,000 souls!

³ I infer this from the passage in Vetancurt, *Menologio*, p. 52: "donde juntó en cinco pueblos muchos infieles que catequizó y bautizó." It seems that he concentrated the Zuñis in five pueblos, persuading them to abandon one, which was already on the decline. Such instances

about by the missionaries. The original villages were, as a rule, smaller than they are to-day, and consequently their inhabitants were more exposed to insult and outrage from a roving enemy. For the sake of protection, the missionaries induced the people to concentrate, and to consolidate the numerous small pueblos into a few larger ones. Such was the case on the Rio Grande, at Jemez,¹ and, as we see it now, at Zuñi. Up to the year 1680, the fatal date we are now approaching, the Zuñi villages had dwindled down from six to four.

Catastrophes like those of Hauicu became more and more numerous throughout the missions of New Mexico. The Apaches were closing in upon the pueblos from every side. In 1675 the village of Senecu on the Rio Grande below Socorro had to be abandoned.² Soon after, the missions around the Salines east of the river, the stately churches of Cuaray, Abo, and Tabira (now erroneously called "Gran Quivira") were left at the mercy of the savages.³ Dismal times were coming; the pueblos grew more and more uneasy, the Apaches more insolent, and to resist their constant encroachments, Santa Fé had, in 1675, a garrison consisting of *ten armed men*!⁴ When at last that greatest monk of the seventeenth century in America, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, sent forth his cry of alarm about the desperate condition of affairs in New Mexico,⁵ the appeal was indeed listened to, and fifty soldiers went from Durango to reinforce the post.⁶ It was too late; the fifty men were sent into the jaws of death; they could not save the province.

The last attempt made by the pueblos to injure the Spaniards and the priests through sorcery, prior to the great revolution, took place among the Tehuas.⁷ It called forth summary punishment, but the

are quite common. So the Tanos-villages joined the Queres, and the several pueblos around Cia consolidated into one, etc.

¹ Benavides, *Memorial*, pp. 16, 27; Veltancurt, *Crónica*, p. 319.

² Solis-Miranda, *Parecer Fiscal* (MS.).

³ Escalante, *Carta al Padre Morfi*, art. 2.

⁴ *Parecer Fiscal*, 1676.

⁵ Fray Francisco de Ayeta, *Carta en nombre del Gobernador Cabildo; justicia y regidores de la villa de Santa-fé; Nuevo-México*, 1676 (MS. Archives of Mexico).

⁶ *Idem*, *Parecer Fiscal; Auto acordado*, 9th September, 1676 (MS.); *Real Cédula*, 18th of June, 1678 (MS.).

⁷ In 1675. *Ynterrogatorio de Preguntas* (MS.). It was a very dangerous plot.

most dangerous of the criminals escaped. This was an Indian from the pueblo of San Juan called Po-pe. He was evidently a medicine-man of high order,¹ a member of the secret societies, and his performances as a magician excited the utmost admiration and superstitious dread of his brethren. I shall here state, that already Fray Alonso de Benavides mentions the existence, among the Rio Grande Indians of New Mexico, of at least two of the esoteric clusters, whose rediscovery² has been one of the most brilliant achievements of our friend Mr. Cushing. It may not be amiss to quote the words of the Father Custodian, subsequently Archbishop of Goa : —

“All these people and nations during the times of their heathendom were divided into two parties: the warriors and the sorcerers. The warriors endeavored to draw the people to their side and to reduce them to obedience and subjection unto them, while the sorcerers, in opposition, tried to persuade the people that they were making rain and giv-

The governor was even compelled to yield to the Indians to a certain extent, by releasing some of the culprits. He was too weak to use force, to the full extent it would have been needed. Very characteristic it is, that from that time on the pueblos nourished a deep hatred against three Spaniards chiefly, the secretary Francisco Xavier, and the sargentos mayores Diego Lopez and Luis de Quintana: “al primero por Juárez Confiscador y egecutor de los mas castigos, al segundo por interprete acompañado, y al tercero por Secretario que era del dicho Gobernador, á quien tambien quisieron matar dentro de su mismo Palacio por los castigos hechos, y haberles derribado, y quemado sus estufas, ó templos idolátricos.”

¹ *Idem*, “y abrazado el dictámen del primer mandon Capitan General. Pope, uno de los echiceros castigados en dicho año de setenta y cinco.”

² I use the term “rediscovery” on pur-

pose. The results of Mr. Cushing's investigations have been so frequently denied, and even declared to be products of his own imagination, by ill-disposed or ignorant and supercilious persons, that it affords me always the greatest pleasure to produce any evidence of the truth of his statements. No better proof can be furnished than by establishing beyond a doubt that what he, with infinite labor, unearthed, existed centuries ago, and was noticed then by parties who had not even a clear conception of what they saw at that time, and with whose writings Mr. Cushing, in his isolated position at Zuñi, was wholly unacquainted. Therefore the word “rediscovery.” It does not in the least diminish the merit of Mr. Cushing's great work, for it is always more difficult to unearth what centuries have contributed to hide than to merely describe what lies on the surface open to everybody's inspection.

ing them good crops and other things, which the warriors were turning into ridicule, and on this account there prevailed among them cruel civil wars, so fierce, that they killed each other and destroyed the villages.”¹

We must remember that, at that time, the existence of the several clusters was not at all kept secret, that the so-called “Cachinas” were danced publicly, and that therefore the writers could not speak of “esoteric societies” as we do now. One or the other of these clusters, of necessity, escaped observation. The hunters, for instance, were confounded with the warriors, and the medicine-men were included among “magicians” in general. Po-pe was a magician, one of the “Pato-abu,” equivalent, among the Telhuas, to the “Ka-ka” among the Zuñis. He learned from the Yutes, and probably from the northern Navajos, many of their tricks, and when he held it to be safe enough, he returned to Taos, where he began to perform in secret some of the new juggleries which he had been taught. His residence in the Northeast and North gave him a pretext for claiming that he carried a special mission, intrusted to him by powers residing in the lagoon of Ci-bo-be or Shi-pap-u,² whence the northern pueblos claim to have come, and whither the souls of their deceased are said to go for eternal enjoyment. His fame spread, slowly and secretly. Indians of distant pueblos, even from Zuñi, went to see him and to observe his prodigies.³ They did not fail to report them at home, and thus to create a belief that Po-pe was indeed endowed with extraordi-

¹ *Memorial*, p. 37: “Toda esta gente y naciones en su gentilidad estaua diuidida en dos parcialidades, guerreros y hechizeros, procurando los guerreros reducir á su imperio y mando, en oposicion á los hechizeros toda la gente; y los hechizeros con la misma oposicion persuadian á todos, á que ellos hacian llover, y dar la tierra buenas sementeras, y otras cosas de que mofauan los guerreros, por lo qual auia entre ellos continuas guerras ciuiles, tan

grandes, que se matauan, y asolauan los pueblos enteros.”

² The words used are: Copala, Copiala, and Colela, evidently a Spanish-Mexican mistake for Cibobe. Cibobe is the same as Shipapu, the lagoon where the deceased go to rest. The place is situated in southern Colorado.

³ This is confirmed by the various evidences taken by order of Otermin.

nary powers from "those above," and that the time had come for their delivery from a useless foreign domination. This time the Moquis yielded also, so did Zuñi, and Pope could at last fix upon a date for a general outbreak. It was set for the new moon of August, 1680.¹ How the messages were sent to inform all the pueblos, even the most distant ones, is told as follows by Indian witnesses interrogated by Antonio de Otermin in 1681:—

"It happened that in an estufa of the pueblo of Taos there appeared to the said Indian Pope three figures of Indians who never came forth from the estufa. They gave him to understand that they went underground to the lagune of Copiala. These three forms he saw emit fire from all the extremities of their bodies, one of them was called Caudi, the other Tilim, and the third Heume. They spoke to the said Pope . . . and told him to make a string of yucca, tying in it a number of knots in token of the days they had to wait until they should break out, and to send the said string through all the villages of the kingdom, and that the man who carried it should untie one knot for each day in token of compliance, and that by the number of remaining knots they should know the days yet lacking; this was commanded under penalty of death. As soon as the treason was accomplished, they were to raise a smoke in each of the pueblos. The string was carried from village to village by the swiftest runners."²

¹ Vetancurt, *Crónica*, p. 325; *Menologio*, p. 276.

² *Interrogatorio y Declaraciones*, 1681: "y que al cabo en los años pasados por orden de un Indio llamado Pope, que dicen tiene comunicacion con el Demonio, sucedió que en una estufa del pueblo de Taos se le aparecieron al dicho Indio Pope tres figuras de Indios los quales nunca salian de la estufa, y le dieron á entender al dicho Pope que ivan por debajo de tierra hasta la laguna de Copiala, estas tres figuras la veia echar fuego por todas las estremidades del cuerpo, y que el uno se lla-

mava Caudi, y otro Tilim, y el otro Heume, que estos tales le hablaron al dicho Pope que andaba huyendo del secretario Francisco Xavier, porque lo queria castigar por echicero, y le digeron que hiciese un mecate de palmillo, y en él amarrarse unos nudos, que era la significacion de los dias que habian de tardar en alzarse, y que el dicho mecate corrió por todos los pueblos del reyno para aquel que uniese en ello desatar un dia en senal de obedecimiento, y por los demas nudos conociesen los dias que faltaban, y esto fué con pena de muerte á los que no viniéran en ello, y en señal de

Another Indian witness states: "That he [Po-pe] took a string of yucca, and tying in it some knots which signified the days that lacked until the execution of the treason, sent it to all the villages as far as Isleta without there being in the whole kingdom but the nation of the Piros left out, and that the order given by the said Pope, when he dispatched the said string, was, on condition of all secrecy, that it should be carried from village to village by the war-captains."¹

It is well known that the explosion took place earlier than the day set. The plot was discovered a few days previous. Indians from Pecos gave warning to their priest, Fray Fernando Velasco, and Governor Otermin heard of it.² So the pueblos broke loose on the morning of the 10th of August, simultaneously in most of the villages, and murdered 380 Spaniards and Mexican Indians, and twenty-one priests.³

Then began the siege of Santa Fé, which ended in the dispersion of the besiegers; but this could not prevent the ultimate evacuation of the place and of the territory. In October of the same year not a single Spaniard remained in New Mexico.⁴

aviso de haber cometido la traicion levantasen humos de lo dicho en cada uno de por si, y que el dicho mecate lo llevaban de pueblo en pueblo los mozetones mas ligeros, con la dicha pena de muerte para que guardasen secreto."

¹ *Interrogatorio y Declaraciones*: "que cogió un mecate de palmito, y amarrando en él unos nudos, que significaban los dias que faltaban, para la egecucion de la traicion, lo despachó por todos los pueblos hasta el de la Isleta sin que quedase en todo el reyno, más que el de la nacion de los Piros, y que la orden qe dió el dicho Pope quando despachó el dicho mecate, fué debajo de todo secreto, mandando le llevasen de pueblo en pueblo los capitanes de la guerra."

² About the warning given to Fray Velasco, see *Carta al Gobernador del Nuevo México; de los Religiosos de la*

Custodia, 18th of November, 1693. The fact that Otermin had been warned is stated in *Interrogatorio y Declaraciones*: "y teniendo lo así dispuesto dos dias antes de la egecucion, por tener noticia su Señoría, y haber preso dos Indios cómplices del pueblo de Tezuque egecutaron de improviso aquella noche, por parecerles eran ya descubiertos, matando á Religiosos, Españoles, mugeres, y niños."

³ Solis-Miranda, *Dictamen Fiscal*, 1681.

⁴ It is superfluous to quote in detail the mass of documents which prove this fact. I have alone more than fifty of them. Otermin retreated to El Paso del Norte safely, but the undertaking was nevertheless a fearful task. His success must be credited to his ability, and to the lack of organization among the insurgent pueblo Indians.

Among the missionaries assassinated was Fray Juan del Bal,¹ priest at Alona in Zuñi. The fact of his death at the hands of the tribe is the only knowledge we have of the manner in which the Zuñis participated in the great rebellion. Fray Juan was a native of a place called "Bal" in Castile proper; he had professed at home, and had come to New Mexico in 1771.² How the Indians killed him I am unable to say. It was impossible almost for the Zuñis to take part in the actions at Santa Fé.³ Neither was it necessary or advisable. The segregation peculiar to tribal organization was exemplified most strikingly. Every tribe did its duty at home. The Tehuas, Tanos, and Pecos, all of which lived around Santa Fé, were those who assaulted the town, and the Picuries and Taos assisted them to a limited extent at the instigation of Po-pe.³ The Queres disposed of the Spanish residents about Santo Domingo and Cerrillos.⁴ The Jemez cleaned out their own neighborhood,⁵ and the Rio Grande as far as Isleta.⁶ At Zuñi, no mention is made of other victims than the priest, — a proof that there were no settlements in that neighborhood.

With the successful retreat of Otermin to El Paso del Norte, a military achievement of no small merit, New Mexico relapsed into its pris-

¹ Vetancurt, *Crónica*, p. 320: "En el rebelion quitaron la vida al padre fray Juan del Bal, de la Provincia de Castilla y misionero antiguo, y quemaron el templo;" *Menologio*, p. 275: "En él de la Concepcion de Alona, el venerable padre fray Juan de Val, ambos de Castilla;" Fray Francisco de Ayeta, *Carta al Virrey*, 11th of September, 1680 (MS. Archives of Mexico): "Alona: En el convento de la Purisima Concepcion de Alona el P. Fr. Juan del Bal, hijo de la santa Provincia de Castilla, incorporadose la del Santo Evangelio. Entró de Misionero el año pasado de 771, natural de un lugar de Castilla llamado el Bal."

² The distance was too great, and they are never mentioned among the tribes who attacked what was the only Spanish town in the territory at the time.

³ *Diario del Sitio de Santa-Fé, Año de 1680*. A copy of the original MS. is in my possession.

⁴ *Idem*, 13th of August, 1680.

⁵ *Documentos Formados por don Antonio de Otermin; Sobre el Levantamiento del Año de 1680*, 24th of August, 1680. A copy of the originals is in my possession.

⁶ *Idem*, various dates in August, September, and October of the same year.

tine state. The rebellion appeared to be a success, and the pueblos exulted over it. Their "good old times" had returned.¹

¹ I have purposely avoided mentioning, in the foregoing pages, the official visits which the governors of New Mexico should have made to all the settlements of the province once, but not oftener than once, during their term of office. I doubt whether these visits were made except in a few cases. I know of but one authenticated instance. The notorious Peñalosa visited Zuñi between the years 1662 and 1664. Had he said so himself, I should

scarcely have believed it, but the *Maestre de Campo*, Juan Dominguez de Mendoza, asserts it as a fact, *Memorial del Maestre de Campo Juan Dominguez de Mendoza ; informando de las Naciones del Oriente*, etc.: "en que no a faltado á la verdad, por tener conocimiento de todo el Nuevo Mexico, y haber andado hasta las provincias de Suny y Moqui, demarcando todos los lugares del reino quando fué governador de aquellas provincias."

Hementway Southwestern Archaeological Expedition

II.

**SOMATOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS ON INDIANS OF THE
SOUTHWEST**

BY DR. HERMAN F. C. TEN KATE

SOMATOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS ON INDIANS OF THE SOUTHWEST.

DURING my second season's work in the southwestern territories of the United States, in 1887, 1888, as anthropologist of the Hemenway Southwestern Archæological Expedition, I agreed with the then Director, Mr. Frank Hamilton Cushing, that it would be of great importance to compare the numerous skeletons we exhumed in the Pre-columbian ruins of Southwestern Arizona, and in the ancient cities of Cibola, with the physical characteristics of some of the present Indian tribes in the vicinity.

I therefore tried, when my other duties allowed, to collect among the living Indians as much material as possible for comparison, and to complete, at the same time, my observations made in 1883.¹

With this in view, I revisited the Pima and Papago Indians; but instead of confining myself, as before, to a few settlements near Sacaton and San Xavier del Bac, I visited nearly all the villages of the Zola reservation, and went farther down in the Papageria. I also made a short stay among the Maricopa Indians on the Salado, and, when the Expedition moved its headquarters to Zuñi, I completed my observations made there five years ago.

Through means of a special appropriation and a separate outfit, for which thanks are due both to Mrs. Mary Hemenway and Mr. Cushing, my work was greatly facilitated, and among most of the tribes my observations could be made very complete. Circumstances obliged me

¹ See, among other publications, my letters in *Bulletins de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, 1883.

to leave Zuñi very much sooner than I had expected, so that my investigations there were necessarily less elaborate than in the other places.

While on duty with the Hemenway Expedition, I made observations on 445 living Indians of both sexes, adults and children, distributed as follows: —

	213 Adults.		232 Children.		Total.
	Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.	
Pimas	77	51	121	63	312
Papagos	17	5	23	13	58
Maricopas	29	18	1	6	54
Yumas	2	1	—	—	3
Zuñis	13	—	5	—	18
Total	138	75	150	82	445

Except among the adult Zuñis, where only nine or ten measurements and observations on each individual were taken, not less than twelve observations on descriptive characteristics were made, and from twenty-five to twenty-seven direct measurements, besides the indices or ratios, were taken on nearly every adult person of the other tribes. The diameters of the head of the children in length and breadth were measured.

All my observations and measurements have followed those recommended by the anthropological school of Paris, more particularly by Prof. Paul Topinard. The same can be said in regard to the instruments used. Consequently all the numbers obtained by direct measurements represent millimeters.

Moreover, I directed my attention to several questions concerning the physiology and sanitary condition of these Indians. The data thus collected are very rich, and properly worked out would fill a volume. Unfortunately I feel obliged for the present to give only a summary report, or little more than an *exposé* of my principal observations and measurements. However, considering the very scanty positive know-

ledge we possess of the somatology, not only of the living Indians of the Southwest, but also of the North American Indians generally, the matter, strange to say, having been almost entirely neglected by the American anthropologists, any results of systematic investigations can be regarded as a contribution to physical anthropology.

For completion of, and comparison with, the material collected while I stayed with the Hemenway Expedition, I add a certain number of somatological observations made on 131 Indians (Pimas, Papagos, Yaquis, Yumas, Mohaves, Zuñis, and Mokis) during my travels in 1883. I exclude 89 other Indians of various tribes which I examined, as they are of no interest for our special comparisons. Consequently all my material consists of 576 living Indians, besides 104 skulls from ancient ruins.

What I have been able to give about these skulls is partly based upon my own field notes, but largely upon the measurements which Dr. Washington Matthews, Major and Surgeon United States Army, had the kindness to make at my request, and for which I take pleasure in thanking him.

The forthcoming work of Dr. Matthews on these precious human remains, which were mostly collected by Dr. Jacob L. Wortman and myself, and are now in the United States Army Medical Museum, will very likely throw more light upon the question: "To which of the now existing tribes were the ancient City-Builders of Southwestern Arizona nearest related?" than I have been able to do in this paper.

I think that in presenting my material in the shape of a series of numbers and simple diagnoses which speak for themselves commentaries are superfluous.

The following table gives a summary description of the principal somatological characteristics of the Pimas and Papagos, which are not based on measurements (Series of 1888):—

DESCRIPTIVE CHARACTERISTICS.		128 Pimas.		22 Papagos.	
		77 Men.	51 Women.	17 Men.	5 Women.
A. Condition of body	{ thin	10	4	3	—
	{ middling	62	41	14	4
	{ corpulent	5	6	—	1
B. Color of eyes	{ dark, of different shades	77	51	17	5
C. Color of hair	{ black	72	45	15	5
	{ gray ¹	5	6	2	—
D. Color of skin	{ brown and yellowish of different shades ²	77	51	17	5
E. Quality of hair	{ straight	70	48	16	5
	{ waved	7	3	1	—
	{ none	38	51	5	5
F. Pilosity of face	{ rare	27	—	2	—
	{ middling	11	—	10	—
	{ abundant	1	—	—	—
G. Profile of nose	{ straight	21	19	2	1
	{ concave	5	13	1	—
	{ convex	41	16	12	4
	{ indifferent ³	10	3	2	—
H. Caruncula covered	{ not	62	41	11	5
	{ vestige	15	10	6	—
	{ one third	—	—	—	—
	{ long	2	—	—	—
I. Form of face	{ middling	52	27	15	1
	{ broad	23	24	2	4
	{ none	34	20	12	2
J. Buccal prognathism	{ feeble	37	26	4	3
	{ marked	6	5	1	1
	{ considerable	—	—	—	—
K. Condition of teeth	{ good and regular	58	35	12	5
	{ good but irregular, or decayed or used	15	8	15	—
		4	8	—	—

¹ Old persons.

² I have been unable as yet to find any real red or copper-colored Indians. The color of the skin among all the tribes I visited mostly corresponds with No. 30 of Broca's chromatic table.

³ By "indifferent" I understand a nose of an irregular, undecided form, quite frequently more or less resembling the *nez sinueux* figured in Topinard's *Éléments d'Anthropologie*, p. 298.

The following table shows the seriation of the cephalic index and its averages in the different tribes. It may be well to state once and for all that my averages represent the "average of indices" (Topinard, "Éléments," p. 233) unless the contrary is said. I have added the Indians measured in 1883, and excluded the Yumas on account of their small number. However, I will state here that the average cephalic index of five men and one woman is 87.21.

CEPHALIC INDICES.	262 Adults.			
	151 Pimas.	32 Papagos.	47 Maricopas.	31 Zuñis.
68	-	-	1	-
69	-	-	-	-
70	-	-	-	-
71	5	-	-	-
72	5	1	1	-
73	5	-	-	-
74	8	-	1	-
75	9	-	-	2
76	19	1	1	1
77	14	2	2	1
78	24	2	3	1
79	7	4	2	4
80	18	4	3	2
81	8	2	3	3
82	6	5	7	3
83	8	5	-	3
84	14	-	5	4
85	1	3	1	-
86	-	3	4	2
87	-	-	1	1
88	-	-	4	1
89	-	-	2	2
90	-	-	2	-
91	-	-	3	1
92	-	-	1	-
Averages	78.55	81.44	83.44	82.34

To this table I add the following, to show the cephalic index of the children as compared with that of the adults. I shall speak of this after having given the individual measurements of the Pimas and Papagos.

CEPHALIC INDICES.	232 Children.			
	184 Pimas.	36 Papagos.	7 Maricopas.	5 Zuñis.
70	5	-	-	-
71	2	-	-	-
72	9	-	-	-
73	11	1	1	-
74	14	1	-	-
75	14	-	-	-
76	19	-	-	-
77	14	1	1	1
78	20	4	1	-
79	10	2	-	-
80	19	6	2	-
81	10	5	-	1
82	11	6	-	-
83	10	2	2	1
84	3	4	-	-
85	3	2	-	-
86	8	1	-	1
87	1	-	-	-
88	1	1	-	-
89	-	-	-	-
90	-	-	-	-
91	-	-	-	-
92	-	-	-	-
93	-	-	-	-
94	-	-	-	1
Averages	78.85	81.54	79.60	84.66

The following lists serve to illustrate the possible correlations between the principal measurements, or the different types which are found in one and the same tribe : —

PIMAS (MEN).

No.	Head.		Cephalic Index.	Nose. ¹		Nasal Index. ²	Form of Nose.	Height of Stature.
	Greatest Length.	Greatest Breadth.		Length.	Breadth.			
1	195	154	78.97	51	45	88.23	Concave.	1693
2	192	138	71.87	49	35	71.42	Convex.	1610
3	188	146	77.66	42	39	92.85	Straight.	1658
4	196	147	75.00	45	41	91.10	Convex.	1752
5	188	148	78.72	54	35	94.81	Convex.	1749
6	193	152	78.75	51	35	68.63	Indifferent.	1695
7	182	154	84.61	45	40	88.89	Convex.	1698
8	189	159	84.12	46	36	78.26	Straight.	1559
9	184	156	84.78	45	38	84.44	Concave.	1754
10	182	152	83.51	47	42	89.36	Concave.	1690
11	186	138	24.19	49	36	73.46	Convex.	1647
12	193	154	79.79	48	39	81.52	Straight.	1698
13	202	152	75.25	49	38	77.55	Convex.	1768
14	185	143	77.29	51	36	97.22	Convex.	1652
15	188	144	76.59	49	38	77.55	Straight.	1662
16	200	142	71.00	48	42	87.50	Straight.	1724
17	185	150	81.08	46	37	80.42	Straight.	1684
18	190	152	88.00	51	39	76.47	Convex.	1740
19	196	148	75.51	52	38	73.07	Convex.	1670
20	194	156	80.41	54	41	71.92	Convex.	1730
21	196	152	77.52	55	38	69.08	Convex.	1788
22	190	150	78.94	51	40	78.43	Straight.	1630
23	186	156	83.87	48	41	85.42	Indifferent.	1698
24	200	152	76.00	54	44	81.48	Straight.	1848
25	202	155	76.74	49	37	75.51	Straight.	1740
26	178	150	84.27	42	41	97.02	Indifferent.	1786
27	196	146	74.49	47	35	75.46	Straight.	1650
28	202	150	74.26	54	38	70.37	Convex.	1814
29	194	150	77.32	48	38	79.17	Convex.	1716
30	190	155	81.58	50	38	76.00	Convex.	1689
31	186	150	80.64	47	42	89.36	Straight.	1708
32	182	150	82.41	46	43	93.48	Indifferent.	1700
33	182	154	84.61	47	40	85.10	Convex.	1670
34	200	160	80.00	52	36	88.46	Convex.	1624
35	196	150	76.53	49	38	77.55	Straight.	1710
36	188	152	80.85	47	42	89.36	Convex.	1710
37	184	156	84.78	50	40	80.00	Straight.	1656
38	190	156	83.15	50	44	88.00	Indifferent.	1712
39	186	152	81.72	55	44	79.99	Straight.	1623
40	178	150	84.27	50	41	82.00	Convex.	1670
41	194	150	77.32	55	48	87.26	Convex.	1720
42	192	146	76.04	46	42	91.30	Straight.	1674
43	192	154	80.20	53	42	79.24	Convex.	1736
44	186	150	80.64	48	36	75.00	Convex.	1718
45	192	156	81.25	54	38	70.37	Convex.	1718
46	190	160	84.21	50	40	80.00	Convex.	1671

¹ At the basis (*écartement maximum* sal index of the living, see Topinard's *des ailes* of Topinard).

² For the classification, etc., of the na-

Éléments, p. 303, etc.

PIMAS (MEN). — *Continued.*

No.	Head.		Cephalic Index.	Nose.		Nasal Index.	Form of Nose.	Height of Stature.
	Greatest Length.	Greatest Breadth.		Length.	Breadth.			
47	204	146	71.55	50	32	64.00	Convex.	1680
48	186	146	78.49	46	38	82.61	Convex.	1678
49	204	152	74.49	49	44	89.79	Convex.	1744
50	186	150	80.64	50	39	78.00	Straight.	1628
51	184	154	83.69	47	40	85.10	Indifferent.	1665
52	183	156	85.24	46	41	89.13	Convex.	1750
53	192	148	77.08	50	42	84.00	Convex.	1656
54	190	150	78.94	48	40	83.33	Straight.	1710
55	196	148	75.51	50	44	88.00	Convex.	1757
56	200	148	74.00	49	42	85.71	Indifferent.	1648
57	194	142	73.19	49	42	85.71	Convex.	1739
58	196	140	71.43	53	37	69.81	Indifferent.	1723
59	186	148	79.57	45	40	88.89	Convex.	1698
60	192	158	78.12	37	35	94.59	Convex.	1630
61	186	148	79.57	43	38	88.37	Straight.	1690
62	198	146	73.73	47	38	81.85	Indifferent.	1640
63	192	150	78.12	48	42	87.50	Convex.	1712
64	200	148	74.00	56	40	71.43	Indifferent.	1734
65	184	154	72.82	53	40	75.47	Convex.	1746
66	197	150	76.14	49	35	71.42	Convex.	1680
67	190	154	77.38	49	37	75.51	Convex.	1668
68	186	150	80.64	46	37	80.42	Straight.	1644
69	180	141	78.33	47	37	79.72	Straight.	1754
70	178	144	80.40	43	36	83.72	Concave.	1676
71	192	148	77.08	53	43	81.12	Convex.	1712
72	198	143	72.22	48	42	87.50	Convex.	1791
73	190	151	79.47	51	40	78.43	Convex.	1728
74	180	144	80.00	49	43	87.75	Convex.	1666
75	193	152	78.75	48	42	87.50	Concave.	1662
76	180	152	84.49	46	37	80.42	Convex.	1573
77	188	148	78.72	45	38	84.44	Straight.	1653
Average.	190	150	79.00	48.8	39	81.77		1696

PIMAS (WOMEN).

No.	Head.		Cephalic Index.	Nose.		Nasal Index.	Form of Nose.	Height of Stature.
	Greatest Length.	Greatest Breadth.		Length.	Breadth.			
1	188	136	72.34	43	36	83.72	Concave.	1608
2	184	138	75.00	47	35	75.46	Straight.	1542
3	178	150	84.27	52	32	61.54	Concave.	1595
4	188	148	78.72	49	41	83.67	Convex.	1458
5	183	140	76.50	47	40	85.10	Convex.	1556
6	182	138	75.82	43	34	85.00	Concave.	1606
7	178	139	78.09	46	37	80.42	Concave.	1548
8	180	142	78.88	43	30	69.76	Straight.	1558
9	186	146	78.49	48	36	75.00	Convex.	1509
10	173	146	84.39	44	35	79.54	Straight.	1600
11	190	146	76.84	42	40	95.24	Convex.	1600
12	188	138	73.40	38	35	92.10	Convex.	1508
13	184	146	79.34	42	33	78.57	Straight.	1559
14	188	144	76.59	51	42	82.35	Convex.	1558
15	180	146	81.11	40	34	85.00	Concave.	1559
16	190	142	24.73	44	38	86.36	Straight.	1566
17	185	145	78.37	46	33	71.73	Straight.	1558
18	176	148	84.09	45	37	82.22	Straight.	1667
19	188	146	77.66	44	37	84.09	Straight.	1561
20	183	142	77.59	48	40	83.33	Convex.	1536
21	184	150	81.52	35	34	97.14	Concave.	1512
22	194	156	80.41	48	36	75.00	Straight.	1561
23	190	146	76.84	50	38	76.00	Indifferent.	1560
24	193	148	76.68	49	35	71.42	Straight.	1557
25	184	140	76.08	45	35	77.77	Straight.	1672
26	185	138	24.59	46	37	80.42	Straight.	1490
27	176	138	78.41	42	33	78.57	Concave.	1544
28	174	144	82.76	45	36	80.00	Concave.	1562
29	174	140	80.46	37	35	94.59	Concave.	1506
30	190	140	73.68	43	36	83.72	Straight.	1508
31	178	146	82.02	38	33	86.84	Convex.	1484
32	190	138	72.63	38	36	94.73	Straight.	1564
33	182	148	81.31	50	37	74.00	Concave.	1560
34	182	144	79.12	46	36	78.26	Convex.	1547
35	182	146	80.22	41	35	85.36	Convex.	1538
36	173	140	79.54	44	36	81.82	Straight.	1556
37	188	148	78.72	47	36	77.59	Convex.	1562
38	189	142	75.13	49	36	73.46	Indifferent.	1610
39	170	142	83.53	43	32	74.42	Convex.	1572
40	180	150	83.57	41	31	75.61	Straight.	1550
41	182	143	78.57	40	33	82.50	Convex.	1662
42	188	148	78.72	45	41	91.10	Concave.	1598
43	186	144	77.42	47	33	70.20	Convex.	1625
44	180	148	82.22	47	33	70.20	Convex.	1570
45	190	146	76.84	43	39	90.69	Concave.	1528
46	191	148	77.48	45	39	86.06	Straight.	1575
47	184	139	75.54	45	34	75.55	Straight.	1526
48	185	154	83.24	44	32	72.72	Concave.	1550
49	185	148	80.00	38	37	97.37	Convex.	1620
50	183	144	78.69	48	40	83.33	Straight.	1553
51	182	144	79.12	42	30	71.43	Indifferent.	1560
Average.	183.7	144.2	78.53	44.3	35.6	80.95		1563
General Average. }	187.7	147.7	78.67	47.00	37.9	81.40		1643

Before giving any commentaries on the foregoing, I will give similar lists of the Papagos, being like the 77 × 51 Pimas of my series of 1888 :—

PAPAGOS (MEN).

No.	Head.		Cephalic Index.	Nose.		Nasal Index.	Form of Nose.	Height of Stature.
	Greatest Length.	Greatest Breadth.		Length.	Breadth.			
1	195	158	81.02	53	44	83.01	Convex.	1744
2	197	152	77.15	48	38	79.17	Convex.	1722
3	188	146	77.66	48	48	100.00	Convex.	1718
4	196	154	78.57	42	36	85.71	Convex.	1686
5	188	152	80.85	50	38	76.00	Concave.	1736
6	180	150	83.37	50	36	72.00	Convex.	1658
7	202	146	72.28	49	40	81.63	Convex.	1794
8	182	150	82.41	55	41	74.54	Convex.	1652
9	186	156	83.87	53	41	77.35	Convex.	1746
10	187	160	85.56	52	47	90.38	Straight.	1655
11	184	160	86.95	53	40	75.47	Indifferent.	1662
12	186	159	85.78	52	37	71.15	Convex.	1647
13	183	159	86.88	47	42	89.36	Convex.	1712
14	192	150	78.12	51	37	72.55	Convex.	1659
15	200	152	76.00	44	43	97.71	Indifferent.	1750
16	185	154	83.24	48	36	75.00	Convex.	1637
17	184	161	86.95	47	43	91.48	Straight.	1650
Average.	189.1	152.8	81.57	50.1	40.4	81.91		1695

PAPAGOS (WOMEN).

No.	Head.		Cephalic Index.	Nose.		Nasal Index.	Form of Nose.	Height of Stature.
	Greatest Length.	Greatest Breadth.		Length.	Breadth.			
1	182	144	79.12	43	34	79.07	Convex.	1594
2	189	158	83.60	42	39	92.85	Straight.	1590
3	186	154	82.79	48	37	77.08	Convex.	1610
4	180	150	83.37	50	36	72.00	Convex.	1530
5	180	144	80.00	44	36	81.82	Convex.	1560
Average.	181.1	150.0	81.65	45.5	36.4	80.56		1576
General } Average. }	187.8	152.3	81.59	48.5	39.5	81.60		1608

A series of twenty-three Pimas, all men, measured in 1883, have the subdolichocephalic average cephalic index of 77.70, with a variation

from 68.68 to 84.27 ; the mesorhine index of 77.84, and an average height of stature of 1724 millimeters.

From the measurements of eighty-seven Pima warriors, which were taken many years ago by Mr. John D. Walker, and kindly placed at my disposal by this gentleman, I calculated an average of 1753 mm. I must remark that very likely several Pimas Mr. Walker measured were measured by me. Among my twenty-three Pimas, four have a straight, two a concave, and seventeen a convex nose.

On a previous occasion I measured the heads of eight Papagos, among which two were of women. The average cephalic index of this small series is 81.26 or subbrachycephalic, with a variation from 79.00 to 83.60. The form of the nose of one was straight, and of the rest convex. (One Pima and three Papago skulls, all men, which I collected and described, have the following indices: 77.84, 76.21, 78.41, 76.96. See my paper "Sur quelques crânes de l'Arizona et du Nouveau Mexique" in "Revue d'Anthropologie," 1884, p. 489.)

Although the Pimas and Papagos are intimately related, — in fact, members of one family, the Oôtâm, — my tables show some differences, only the principal of which I will point out.

The color of skin of the Pimas is a little lighter than that of the Papagos. The convex form of the nose is more frequent among the Papagos than among the Pimas. While the latter have 44.5 per cent., the former present 72.7 per cent. of convex noses. The Papagos are a trifle taller than the Pimas, which difference lies especially in the fact that Pima women are smaller than their Papago sisters. The Papagos are stronger built, more muscular and stalwart than the Pimas. The Pimas are in average mesaticephalic ; the Papagos subbrachycephalic ; not only the adults, but, as we shall see, also the children. There is less variation in the cephalic index of the Papagos than in that of the Pimas ; in other words, it shows less extremes, especially downward.

Although at least three primary or principal types are found among both tribes, besides the intermediary types, the Papagos present a greater uniformity of type than their brothers ; that is to say, one type, namely, the brachycephalic with convex nose, prevails among them,

while the other types found among the Pimas are less frequently seen.

It may be of interest to mention here the Yaqui Indians of Sonora, who, linguistically and ethnologically, are related to the Oötm, and keep up a more or less lively intercourse with them. The average cephalic index of nineteen Yaqui men I measured at Guaymas and La Paz (Lower California) is 79.80 or mesaticephalic, which compares very well with that of the Pima men. The Index varies from 75 to 91.23.

Of sixteen of these Yaquis I find the following notes about the form of the nose: four have straight, twelve convex. Although I did not measure their stature I estimated their height, which is probably between that of my small Pima series (1723 mm.) and that of the male Papagos (1695 mm.), or a little over 1700 mm. In physiognomy and general habits I think the Yaquis resemble more the Papagos than the Gila Pimas.

It has been asserted that, in the same race, women are more brachycephalic than men, and children more brachycephalic than adults (Topinard, "Éléments," pp. 374, 376). My observations on the Pimas and Papagos show that the differences are very slight, and that the children, varying from five to fifteen years, have the same form of skull as the adults. The greatest differences we find between the Papago boys and girls. The following numbers, which I take partly from the preceding tables, may show this more clearly: —

MEN AND WOMEN.

	Number.	Men.	Number.	Women.	Difference.
Pimas	77	79.00	51	78.67	— 1.33
Papagos	17	81.53	5	81.59	+ .1

ADULTS AND CHILDREN.

	Number.	Adults.	Number.	Children.	Difference.
Pimas	128	78.55	184	78.85	+ .30
Papagos	22	81.44	36	81.54	+ .10

BOYS AND GIRLS.

	Number.	Boys.	Number.	Girls.	Difference.
Pimas	121	79.12	63	78.02	— 1.10
Papagos	23	80.07	13	82.54	+ 1.57

Taking the average of the averages of the cephalic index of the Pimas, Papagos, Maricopas, and Zuñis, of both adults and children, we find : —

261 Adults.	232 Children.	Difference.
81.44	81.16	.28

The following tables represent the descriptive characteristics and the principal measurements of the Maricopas, after which we can compare them with the Oötam : —

DESCRIPTIVE CHARACTERISTICS.		Maricopas.	
		29 Men.	18 Women.
A. Condition of body	{ thin	4	—
	{ middling	23	14
	{ corpulent	2	4
B. Color of eyes	{ dark, of different shades	29	18
C. Color of hair	{ black	27	17
	{ gray	2	1
D. Color of skin	{ brown and yellowish, of different shades	29	18
E. Quality of hair	{ straight	28	18
	{ waved	1	—
	{ none	11	18
F. Pilosity of face	{ rare	5	—
	{ middling	12	—
	{ abundant	1	—
	{ straight	8	8
G. Profile of nose	{ concave	3	1
	{ convex	12	3
	{ indifferent	6	6
H. Caruncula covered	{ not	18	3
	{ vestige	11	13
	{ one third	—	2
I. Form of face	{ long	5	—
	{ middling	19	11
	{ broad	5	7
	{ none	11	2
J. Buccal prognathism	{ feeble	11	12
	{ marked	6	3
	{ considerable	1	1
K. Condition of teeth	{ good and regular	21	12
	{ good but irregular	5	1
	{ or decayed or used	3	5

MARICOPAS (MEN).

No.	Head.		Cephalic Index.	Nose.		Nasal Index.	Form of Nose.	Height of Stature.
	Greatest Length.	Greatest Breadth.		Length.	Breadth.			
1	208	142	68.23	49	44	89.79	Straight.	1694
2	183	142	77.59	43	38	88.37	Indifferent.	1596
3	184	150	81.52	45	42	93.32	Convex.	1746
4	198	152	76.76	47	40	85.10	Straight.	1671
5	190	150	78.94	48	41	85.42	Indifferent.	1706
6	184	152	82.60	42	40	95.24	Straight.	1750
7	188	156	82.98	47	45	95.74	Convex.	1570
8	190	150	78.94	52	42	80.77	Indifferent.	1711
9	186	164	88.09	48	36	75.00	Concave.	1749
10	194	144	74.22	50	41	82.00	Convex.	1672
11	190	156	82.10	48	41	85.42	Convex.	1670
12	188	160	85.10	47	46	97.87	Convex.	1734
13	190	164	86.31	51	48	96.08	Indifferent.	1754
14	184	160	86.95	51	40	78.43	Convex.	1761
15	182	165	90.65	47	38	81.85	Convex.	1709
16	184	152	82.60	49	42	85.71	Concave.	1786
17	188	156	82.54	54	40	74.07	Convex.	1776
18	170	156	91.76	51	47	92.16	Indifferent.	1781
19	177	164	92.65	54	38	70.37	Convex.	1740
20	200	165	82.50	51	47	92.16	Indifferent.	1750
21	190	160	84.21	54	42	77.78	Straight.	1654
22	175	152	86.85	50	40	80.00	Convex.	1522
23	192	170	88.54	51	49	96.08	Convex.	1820
24	188	164	91.11	51	40	78.43	Straight.	1710
25	188	158	84.04	48	37	77.08	Straight.	1800
26	206	150	72.79	52	43	82.70	Concave.	1776
27	192	163	84.89	42	39	92.85	Convex.	1814
28	190	160	84.21	49	39	79.59	Straight.	1752
29	198	156	78.78	48	40	83.33	Straight.	1770
Average.	188.8	156.3	82.91	49	41.46	85.27		1722

MARICOPAS (WOMEN).

No.	Head.		Cephalic Index.	Nose.		Nasal Index.	Form of Nose.	Height of Stature.
	Greatest Length.	Greatest Breadth.		Length.	Breadth.			
1	184	152	82.60	46	37	80.42	Straight.	1689
2	176	160	90.90	44	38	86.36	Straight.	1600
3	185	144	77.83	47	32	68.08	Convex.	1600
4	176	152	86.36	46	38	82.61	Straight.	1530
5	174	152	87.35	40	36	90.00	Concave.	1614
6	188	150	79.78	50	37	74.00	Straight.	1640
7	176	144	81.82	37	36	97.30	Indifferent.	1480
8	178	144	80.90	45	37	82.22	Convex.	1604
9	190	160	84.21	50	42	84.00	Indifferent.	1670
10	176	158	89.77	44	34	77.27	Convex.	1546
11	187	146	78.07	42	37	88.09	Indifferent.	1634
12	180	164	91.11	48	38	79.17	Indifferent.	1630
13	184	148	80.43	40	34	85.00	Indifferent.	1594
14	174	155	89.08	42	30	71.43	Straight.	1610
15	184	146	19.34	47	34	72.34	Straight.	1600
16	186	150	80.64	44	40	90.90	Straight.	1620
17	185	164	88.64	42	37	88.09	Straight.	1532
18	178	158	88.76	48	39	81.21	Indifferent.	1628
Average.	181.1	152.6	84.29	44.5	36.4	82.14		1601
General Average. }	185.8	154	83.44	47.3	39.5	83.00		1675

I shall call attention to a few differences, etc., between the Maricopas and their neighbors, and the two sexes.

The pilosity of the face of the Maricopa men is more frequent than among the Papagos. Nevertheless, I think that the epithet "abundant" can be more frequently applied to the heads of the men in the Yuma tribes generally than among those of the Oötm. Besides the one case reported among the Maricopas, I have noticed several men with heavy beards among the Yumas, Mohaves, and Yavapais, besides a well-developed pilosity of the body, especially at the legs.

The Maricopas are more brachycephalic, platyrhine, and taller than the Oötm. The variations of the cephalic index are very great and exceedingly low, as the recorded index is 68. The Maricopa skull shows, nevertheless, a greater tendency to brachycephalism. There are not less than thirteen cases above the index 86, which is the highest

among the Oötâm, among whom six are hyperbrachycephalic, — *i. e.*, having an index of 90 or above.

There is a greater difference in the cephalic and nasal indices between the male and female Maricopas than there is among the men and women of the Oötâm tribes. The Maricopa children also show less similarity in the form of the skull than the adults. The difference in stature between Maricopa men and women is between that of the Papagos and Pimas.

Compared with two other tribes of the Yuma family which I studied, — namely, the Yumas proper, or Kutchan, and the Mohaves, — the Maricopas prove to be less homogeneous than the former. Six Yumasō have each a brachycephalic index, as we have seen, with an average of 87.21, which is very similar to that of forty Mohaves (thirty-seven men, three women), where it reaches 87.07. Among these forty Mohaves only three subdolichocephalic heads were found. The highest index among the Mohaves is 98.82. The nasal index of thirty-eight Mohave men is 82.24 or mesorhine. The stature of thirty-five male Mohaves is 17.40 mm.; with the women measured it reaches 17.33. Although there is certainly more than one primary type among the Yumas and Mohaves, they present less variety in type than the Maricopas, whose homogeneity may possibly have been altered by their intermarrying with the Pimas.

To this table of thirteen Zuñis, I join two other small tables representing similar measurements on a series of the same tribe measured previously.

ZUNIS (MEN). SERIES OF 1888.

No.	Head.		Cephalic Index.	Nose.		Nasal Index.	Height of Stature.
	Greatest Length.	Greatest Breadth.		Length.	Breadth.		
1	198	150	75.75	52	34	65.38	1734
2	188	158	84.04	46	34	73.91	1580
3	191	144	75.39	43	38	88.37	1658
4	198	158	77.77	44	37	84.09	1692
5	186	156	83.87	44	36	81.82	1652
6	184	144	78.26	40	37	92.50	1590
7	179	148	82.68	40	36	90.00	1698
8	184	154	83.69	45	36	80.00	1661
9	193	154	79.79	37	35	94.59	1657
10	176	154	87.50	46	35	76.08	1608
11	186	148	79.57	39	37	94.87	1586
12	196	160	81.63	44	48	86.36	1562
13	190	152	80.00	41	39	95.12	1698
Average	188.3	152	80.76	43.1	36.3	84.85	1644

ZUNIS (MEN). SERIES OF 1883.

No.	Head.		Cephalic Index.	Nose.		Nasal Index.	Form of Nose.	Height of Stature.
	Greatest Length.	Greatest Breadth.		Length.	Breadth.			
1	175	144	82.28	42	32	76.19	Straight.	1540
2	188	156	82.98	50	37	74.00	Concave.	1600
3	170	150	88.23	48	37	77.08	Straight.	1650
4	192	154	80.20	51	37	72.55	Straight.	1650
5	186	152	81.72	47	41	87.23	Convex.	1630
6	169	142	84.02	45	31	68.89	Concave.	1480
7	184	160	86.95	47	36	77.59	Straight.	1640
8	198	158	79.79	45	38	84.44	Straight.	1580
9	176	158	89.77	42	36	85.71	—	1610
10	182	148	81.31	—	—	—	Convex.	1710
Average.	182	152.2	83.72	41.9	32.5	78.18		1609
General average of 25 men.	185.6	152.1	82.00	42.4	35.9	82.12		1624

ZUÑIS (WOMEN). SERIES OF 1888.

No.	Head.		Cephalic Index.	Nose.		Nasal Index.	Form of Nose.	Height of Stature.
	Greatest Length.	Greatest Breadth.		Length.	Breadth.			
1	161	148	91.92	46	35	76.08	Concave.	1450
2	158	141	89.24	39	34	87.18	Straight.	1350
3	176	140	79.54	45	37	82.22	Straight.	1450
4	176	148	84.09	40	35	87.50	Concave.	1545
5	178	136	76.40	45	40	88.89	Concave.	1390
6	176	148	84.09	44	35	79.54	Convex.	1500
7	184	160	86.95	50	32	64.00	Straight.	1470
8	178	148	83.14	40	39	97.50	Straight.	1475
Average.	173.3	146.1	84.42	43.6	35.8	81.61		1453
Average } men and } women. }	182.4	150.5	82.34	43.0	35.8	81.93		1583

The differences between men and women are shown clearly enough to dispense with further explanations. By comparing the cephalic index of the thirty-one adult Zuñis with that of the five boys, we find that here at least the difference is much greater than it was, as we have seen, among the Pimas and Papagos, but less considerable than it was among the Maricopas. The small number of children measured among the Maricopas and Zuñis may, however, account for this difference.

Comparing the adult Zuñis with those of the two Oötâm tribes, we find that the greatest difference is in the higher index of the Zuñis, being especially caused by the shorter diameter of length. Although the *average* difference of the cephalic index of the Zuñis and Oötâm is not very great, varying from .90 to 3.29, the *seriation* shows that the *variations* are much more considerable, the most brachycephalic adult Oötâm reaching only 86, the most brachycephalic adult Zuñi 91. Among the children it is 88 and 84.

The averages of the nasal index of the three tribes are about the same, and only differ in the fractions. A more important difference is found in the stature, the Zuñis being smaller than the Oötâm, which

difference lies especially in the women, the Pimas and Papagos being from 110–123 millimetres taller than their sisters of the Zuñi tribe.

For comparison with the Zuñis, and as a link between these and the ancient City-Builders of the southwest, I take the Moki Indians, of which I measured a few at the pueblo of Wál-pi in 1883.

The average maxima and minima of the principal measurements of twenty people (fifteen men, five women) are the following:—

	Men.	Women.	General Average.	Max.	Min.
Greatest length of head	175	166.6	172.9	184	164
Greatest breadth of head	153.3	149.8	152.4	164	141
Greatest length of nose	46	—	—	51	40
Greatest breadth of nose	36	—	—	41	34
Height of stature	1610	148.4	157.8	1740	1440
Cephalic index ¹	87.69	90.04	88.27	95.81	80.43
Nasal index	78.58	—	—	95.00	68.00

From the above numbers I am led to believe that the Mokis are more brachycephalic, more leptorhine, and a little smaller than the Zuñis, and that there is less variation in their numbers, resulting from direct measurements and calculations, than there is among the Zuñis. Nevertheless, I think both tribes are, somatologically speaking, closely related, and we find the same types among both of them. In neither tribe, however, do we find uniformity of type, but both present the same (at least two) primary types, besides the numerous intermediary forms. One of these primary types is what one might call the Pueblo Indian type *par excellence*, the most prominent characteristics of which are: true brachycephalism, or oftentimes hyperbrachycephalism; a flat, almost vertical occiput; a deep-lying root of nose; a broad face; a small nose, mostly straight and short among the women, and slightly convex among the men; middling prognathism, often particularly shown by projection of the lower jaw.

¹ I have described and figured a male Moki skull which has an index of 83.33, in *Archives Néerlandaises*, vol. xx.

The reason why I call this type the Pueblo type is, first, that it is much more frequently found among the Pueblo Indians I have seen¹ than among any other tribes; secondly, because it is very frequently found among the skulls from ancient ruins in the southwest, the Cliff houses included. It is interesting to here remind the reader of the well-known fact that this type is often found among the Mound-Builders, and also in Central Mexico.²

So, naturally, we arrive at the question proposed at the beginning of this paper, "Which of the tribes here examined is, somatologically, closest related to the ancient City-Builders, whose osseous remains were exhumed in such great numbers by the Hemenway Expedition?"

Among these remains, mostly found in the group of ruins in the Salado Valley, southwestern Arizona, which Mr. Cushing has called Los Muertos, Las Acequias, Las Pueblitas, Los Guanacos, etc.,³ and in the Zuñi country, mostly in the ruins of Hálonawan and Heshota-

¹ Besides the Zuñis and Mokis, I saw the inhabitants of Laguna, Tesuque, and Isleta del Paso (Texas), and furthermore representatives from the pueblos of San Domingo, San Juan, and Picuris.

² Compare my previous papers relative to these questions in *Revue d'Anthropologie*, 1885, and *Archives Néerlandaises*, vol. xx.

³ See among the publications on the Hemenway Expedition, mostly found in numerous American and European scientific and other journals, Sylvester Baxter, *The Old New World*, Salem, Mass., 1888, and the admirable paper of Mr. Cushing in the *Compte Rendu of the Congress of Americanistes in Berlin*.

In it are the series from these ruins, more particularly from Los Acequias, which presented the interesting characteristic of the hyoid bone described by Dr. J. L. Wortman and myself. It is noteworthy

that a number of hyoid bones belonging to both series from the Zuñi country (Hálonawan and Heshotaúthla) present the same characteristics as those from the Salado Valley. This results not only from my own observations, but also from those by a member of the Hemenway Expedition, who noticed this occurrence after my departure from Zuñi.

Another interesting characteristic presented by the Salado Valley series, to which I refer, is the enormous frequency of the inca bone. (See Dr. Matthews's paper on this subject in *American Anthropologist*, 1889.) It would be interesting to compare in other respects ancient Peruvian skulls with those of our ancient Arizonians, especially for the reason that Mr. Cushing has found several parallels between the indigenous cultures of the southwest and of Peru.

úthla,¹ 104 skulls are fit for measurement. The other numerous bones from all these ruins, frequently forming almost complete skeletons, have been, as stated in the beginning of this paper, the subject of thorough investigations of Dr. Washington Matthews. For this reason I can only compare here the measurements of the skulls furnished me, either by Dr. Matthews, or made by myself in the field. These skulls are distributed into three different series, as follows: —

Salado Valley,	48	} Measured by Dr. Matthews.
Heshotaúthla,	35	
Hálonawan,	21	Measured by myself.
Total,	104	

In the series measured for me by Dr. Matthews, unfortunately no distinction was made between the sexes. For better comparison I am therefore obliged to give the numbers of my Hálonawan series regardless of sex, although I made an examination with a view to the determination of the sex.

It will be sufficient for our purpose of comparison to give the averages, maxima and minima, of the two principal diameters of the skull, and of the cephalic index, together with the seriation of the latter in our three different series, to which I add the seriation of the cephalic index of the Zuñis and Mokis.²

¹ Hálonawan, or Alona, the original ancient Zuñi, in the immediate neighborhood of the present town of Zuñi. It was still in existence at the time the first Spaniards made their appearance in the Zuñi country. Heshotaúthla, about nine miles east of Zuñi, was a city of the Zuñis already in ruins before the arrival of the Spaniards.

² Although as yet the exact difference between the cephalic index of the bony skull and that of the head of the living ("cephalo-metrix" index) is not known with absolute certainty, I have reasons to believe that the difference is not very great, and I therefore venture to compare here both indices. (See Topinard, *Éléments*, pp. 372-374.)

SKULL.	Salado Valley.			Heshotauáthla.			Hálonawan.		
	Average.	Max.	Min.	Average.	Max.	Min.	Average.	Max.	Min.
Greatest length . . .	160.0	188	145	159.4	185	143	160.5	177	147
Greatest breadth . . .	141.3	151	132	141.1	155	123	144.1	156	130

CEPHALIC INDICES.	Skulls.			Heads.	
	48 Salado Valley.	35 Heshotauáthla.	21 Hálonawan.	36 ¹ Zuñis.	20 Mokis.
74	-	1	-	-	-
75	-	2	-	2	-
76	-	1	-	1	-
77	-	1	-	2	-
78	3	-	-	1	-
79	-	-	-	4	-
80	-	1	1	2	1
81	-	1	1	4	2
82	2	-	3	3	-
83	1	1	-	4	-
84	4	-	-	4	1
85	5	2	1	-	2
86	3	4	1	3	3
87	5	1	1	1	-
88	3	3	2	1	2
89	2	1	3	2	1
90	6	-	-	-	3
91	4	2	-	1	1
92	2	3	-	-	-
93	2	-	-	-	1
94	2	4	2	1	2
95	1	2	1	-	1
96	2	2	1	-	-
97	1	1	2	-	-
98	-	1	1	-	-
99	-	-	1	-	-
100	-	1	-	-	-
Averages . . .	88.53	88.69	90.00	84.93	88.27

The great similarity, or conformity, between these different series of bony skulls is remarkable, and fully confirms the similarity in general morphology of the skull which struck me while simply examining the skulls without instruments at the time we were excavating. We see that brachycephalism unquestionably prevails in these three series, and

¹ Children included.

that there exists even a great frequency of hyperbrachycephalism.¹ The percentage of hyperbrachycephalism is 41.6 in the Salado Valley series, and 42.8 in the combined ancient Zuñis series. Among the present Zuñis only 5.5 per cent. are hyperbrachycephalic, the children included; among the Mokis, 40 per cent. The Pimas and Papagos, as we have seen, present no hyperbrachycephalism. Among the Maricopas, however, it reaches 10 per cent.; but among them this similarity is counterbalanced by so many other different characteristics that, in this case, its occurrence has no signification.

From the numerous skeletons which I have examined though not measured, I would say that, roughly estimated, the height of stature of the ancient people of the Salado and Gila Valleys and that of the ancient Zuñis cannot have been very different. Perhaps the Arizonians were a little smaller than the ancient Zuñis, but I judge that the general average of both sexes did not exceed 1600 mm.

If, as we have seen, these Precolumbian City-Builders of Arizona show in their craniology, and other osteology, the greatest resemblance to the direct ancestors of the present Zuñis, then we have a right to say that the present Zuñis are more closely related to these ancient Arizonians than any other of the tribes examined, except the Mokis. But although, as above stated, the Mokis present the same physical types as the living Zuñis, — that is, are somatologically related to them, — the affinity of the Zuñis with the ancient Arizonians is not on that account any the less.

The greatest difference between them is this: the Precolumbian Arizonians and the ancient Zuñis present more homogeneity in their physical characteristics than do the present Zuñis. To what causes this is to be attributed, I can only venture a suggestion. Has the Zuñi type changed during the last three centuries, through natural evolution, or has it been altered by foreign elements? Or, perhaps, would a larger number of living Zuñis than the series I have examined show a greater similarity with the ancient Arizonians? A more complete

¹ A male skull from Heshotaúthla, has an index of 98.02. (See *Sur quelques* which I described on a previous occasion, *crânes*, etc., *loc. cit.*)

solution of the question relative to the somatological affinity of the ancient Arizonians and the present Zuñis must be left to future investigations.

However, I must remind the reader that the comparative Archæological and Ethnological studies of Mr. Cushing on the ruins of southwestern Arizona, in the Zuñi country and among the Zuñi Indians themselves, have led him to the conclusion that the Precolumbian Arizonians were closely related to the Zuñis of to-day, who he thinks represent the purest survival of this ancient desert culture, to which he has given the name of Shiwian, or Aridian culture. Thus both kinds of researches have led to very much the same conclusions, which certainly is not a mere coincidence.

The question whether the present Pimas and Papagos had anything to do with the ancient cities of the Salado and Gila Valleys has often been discussed among the officers of the Hemenway Expedition, and previously by other ethnologists.

Pima tradition in regard to this has different versions, which agree in the conclusion that not *one* but several peoples built these cities and lived in them. Besides their own ancestors, they mention the Onävas, or Tchoofkwatam (Hare-eaters), now living in Sonora, and the Mokis. It is indeed very difficult to bring these versions, to which, as Mr. Cushing asserts, the Zuñis can add another one, in harmony with each other.

The present Oötâm show, it is true, in their social organization, religious customs, ornamentation, architecture, etc., some similarities with the Pueblo Indians generally, but they indicate more an incomplete development than a degeneration from a higher culture, which fact has led Mr. Cushing to call them "Arrested Pueblo Indians." Moreover, as we have seen, the anthropological data do not confirm the belief that the Oötâm are the direct descendants of the ancient City-Builders of southern Arizona. If ever they are to be considered as belonging to the Shiwian culture, in which, possibly, somatologically different elements may be found, they occupy and have occupied in it a very low standpoint.

The same can be said of different Yuma tribes, some of which, at least in architecture, might equally be called arrested Pueblo Indians. It has been alleged that the Yuma tribes have traditions that their ancestors were once Pueblo Indians. Should this ever prove to be true, they can nevertheless never be considered as the descendants of the Precolumbian City-Builders of southern Arizona, because their physical characteristics differ too much from those of the ancient and present Pueblo Indians. I speak, of course, only of the Yuma tribes whom I have seen and more or less studied. About the Havesupais, for example, I have no opinion of my own, and must leave to Mr. Cushing, who has been among them, to solve the question of their affinities.

Besides these conclusions there are others, more general ones, which we can draw from what has been said in the foregoing dissertation. They are the same conclusions, but only corroborated by later observations, to which I arrived after my first researches among the North American Indians.¹

They are chiefly the following: Among the Indian tribes inhabiting the southwest of the United States and northwestern Mexico, several different primary somatological types are found, which types, as well as their intermediary forms, are spread in different proportions among the different tribes. The "penetration" (Hollmann) of these types is so complete that there is no tribe in which only one of these primary types is found. In every tribe two or more primary types are found, besides, of course, the numerous transitions, although one special type may occasionally predominate, as, for example, the brachycephalic, short statured type among the Pueblo Indians, ancient and present.

The women present more uniformity in type than the men, and, like the children, have at the same time more Mongoloid characteristics than the men.

The somatological characteristics have no correlation with language

¹ Compare *Revue d'Anthropologie* of Topinard, 1885, in which a *résumé* of the results of my researches, as published in Dutch, are given, and also *Bulletin Soc. d'Anthropologie*, 1883.

or social organization ; in other words, a number of individuals, representing different types, can very well speak the same language, and form an unity in an ethnological sense.

The study of physical anthropology among the North American Indians does not tend to demonstrate that their types are exclusively American, but, on the contrary, that they present only the characteristics of the Mongolian, or so-called yellow races. This conclusion is not only based upon my observations among the tribes mentioned in this paper, but also upon numerous personal observations on other American tribes from the St. Lawrence River to Central Mexico, and upon the study of a great number of osseous remains, not to speak of my researches in South America. I do not wish to be misunderstood, as to my regret sometimes has been the case. I do not mean to say that the American aborigines are Mongolians in the strict sense of the word, or that America has been populated from Asia. Where the Indians came from I do not know, but my position is as follows: the American race is, somatologically speaking, not a type, but has characteristics which can only be called Mongoloid.

JUNE, 1890.

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